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TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS
—
1896

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TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

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BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

1896.

WASHINGTON:
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REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 20, 1897.*

SIR: We have the honor to submit the twenty-eighth annual report of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

When the Board was organized, it was hoped that before the end of the nineteenth century the Indian problem would be substantially solved, and all Indians incorporated in our body politic as American citizens. That hope has not been and will not be wholly realized, but the progress toward the desired result though slow, has been great. The last year has contributed its full share. Though marked by no exciting events, it has shown steady advance along the lines heretofore defined as the settled policy of the Government, sustained by enlightened public sentiment. Evidence is abundant of increasing attention to agriculture and to other forms of productive and profitable industry. The Indian is learning in many ways to earn his own livelihood, and is acquiring a right estimate of the value and the proper use of money.

CIVIL SERVICE.

Not the least important feature of progress during the last year is the extension of civil-service rules so far as to include nearly all employees in every branch of the Indian service. Of the 635 white persons employed in the field—that is, at the various agencies—552 are now in the classified service. Of the remaining 83, 48 are agents, inspectors, and commissioners, and 17 military officers acting as agents. The other 18 hold subordinate positions below classification. Indians are appointed to positions for which they are deemed competent, without examination by the Civil Service Commission. In this manner 1,434 receive employment, and are paid by the Government an aggregate of \$258,140.

In addition to the above, the entire Indian school service has been brought under the civil-service rules, with the single exception of the superintendent of education, who, like the agents and inspectors, is nominated for confirmation by the Senate. In this service there are 2,070 persons employed, of whom 705 are Indians, whose pay the last year amounted to \$148,766. That so large a number of Indians are found fit for employment in Government positions is gratifying proof of the efficiency of the Indian training schools, and it is our hope that graduates of these schools will, ere long, fill a majority of such positions.

We fully concur with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that "the recognition of the merit system in the Indian service is a long step forward and will undoubtedly elevate its standard, improve its morals, and promote its efficiency. The removal of all partisan influence from appointments will give added dignity to the positions and increase the zeal of those engaged in the work."

We are happy to add that the spirit of the civil-service reform has, to a large extent, been applied by the late Secretary of the Interior in the selection of agents and inspectors, and we earnestly hope that the same nonpartisan policy may be continued by the incoming Administration. The retention of the present able Commissioner and superintendent of education, and of all agents and inspectors whose good service has proved their worth and efficiency, would be a great gain to the service. We should then see the last vestige of the spoils system swept away and reap the benefits of long experience and faithful service.

PURCHASE OF SUPPLIES.

The Board was represented at the annual opening of bids for Indian supplies at Chicago from April 28 to May 15, and in New York from May 20 to June 5. We assisted the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the examination of samples offered and in the award of contracts. The number of bids at both lettings was 607, a larger number than in any previous year. The delivery of goods contracted for has been highly satisfactory, none having been found, after careful inspection, inferior in quality to the samples selected. Full details of the shipment of supplies will be found in the report of Commissioner Lyon, the chairman of our purchasing committee.

FIELD WORK.

During the month of April Commissioner Garrett visited the Eastern Cherokees of North Carolina, and has reported the results of his investigation of the condition and needs of that people, which report is herewith transmitted.

We also transmit reports of Commissioner Leupp of his extended tour of inspection during June, July, and August among the Indians of Wisconsin, Dakota, and the Indian Territory. We invite special attention to his recommendation of reform in the method of paying cash annuities to the Sisseton Indians of South Dakota, which we think worthy of careful consideration by the Department. His appeal for an early allotment of lands in severalty to the Red Cliff Indians of Wisconsin has already received attention, and orders have been given to that effect.

In November Commissioner Garrett visited the New York Indians for the special purpose of conferring with them in relation to the purchase of the Ogden land claim. His report is transmitted herewith. Much as we desire to see that old claim extinguished, for it greatly hinders the progress and prosperity of the Indians, we can not recommend acceptance of the extravagant terms offered by the Ogden Land Company. We strongly recommend the allotment of the lands of the New York Indians to the Indians in severalty.

EDUCATION.

As to the importance and value of the Indian educational work, we can add nothing to what we have often urged in former reports. We

are glad to witness its steady extension and improvement from year to year. Though the appropriations available for this purpose were somewhat diminished, by careful economy the schools have been maintained, and even slightly increased, as shown by the following exhibit:

Enrollment and average attendance at Indian schools, 1895 and 1896, showing increase in 1896; also number of schools.

Kind of school.	Enrollment.		Increase.	Average attendance.		Increase.	Number of schools.
	1895.	1896.		1895.	1896.		
Government schools:							
Nonreservation boarding.....	4,673	5,085	412	3,799	4,461	662	22
Reservation boarding.....	8,068	8,489	421	6,477	7,056	579	77
Day.....	3,843	4,215	372	2,528	2,848	320	124
Total.....	16,584	17,789	1,205	12,804	14,365	1,561	223
Contract schools:							
Boarding.....	a 3,372	3,499	127	2,978	3,108	130	38
Day.....	688	593	b 95	407	367	40	14
Boarding, specially appropriated for	1,319	347	972	1,185	322	863	2
Total.....	5,379	4,439	940	4,570	3,797	773	54
Public day.....	319	410	91	192	293	101	(c)
Mission boarding d.....	754	755	1	622	666	44	16
Aggregate.....	23,086	23,393	357	18,188	19,121	933	293

a Not including mission schools.

b Decrease.

c Forty-five public schools in which Indian pupils are taught not enumerated here.

d These schools are conducted by religious societies, some of which received from the Government for the Indian children therein such rations and clothing as the children are entitled to as reservation Indians.

The statistics of the schools for Indian pupils among the Five Civilized Tribes and the Indians of New York are not included in the table.

From this table it appears that there have been in the 293 schools a total enrollment of 23,393 and an average attendance of 19,121, an increase in enrollment of 357 and in average attendance of 933. It is interesting to observe the growth of the Indian school work during the last twenty years, as shown by the following table:

Number of Indian schools and average attendance from 1877 to 1896.

Year.	Boarding schools.		Day schools. a		Totals.	
	Number.	Average attendance.	Number.	Average attendance.	Number.	Average attendance.
1877.....	48	.....	83	.....	131	3,508
1878.....	49	.....	119	.....	168	4,142
1879.....	52	.....	107	.....	159	4,488
1880.....	60	.....	109	.....	169	4,651
1881.....	68	3,888	106	4,221	174	1,976
1882.....	71	2,755	54	1,311	125	4,066
1883.....	75	2,599	64	1,443	139	4,042
1884.....	86	4,358	76	1,757	162	6,115
1885.....	114	6,201	86	1,942	200	8,143
1886.....	115	7,260	99	2,370	214	9,630
1887.....	117	8,020	110	2,500	227	10,520
1888.....	126	8,705	107	2,715	233	11,420
1889.....	136	9,146	103	2,406	239	11,552
1890.....	140	9,865	106	2,367	246	12,232
1891.....	146	11,425	110	2,163	256	13,588
1892.....	149	12,422	126	2,745	275	15,167
1893.....	156	13,635	119	2,668	275	16,303
1894.....	157	14,457	115	2,639	272	17,220
1895.....	157	15,061	125	3,127	282	18,188
1896.....	b 155	15,613	138	3,488	293	19,121

a Public schools attended by Indian children included in the average attendance, but not in the number of schools.

b Decrease of two schools is due to discontinuance of two contract schools.

We may hope for larger growth during the current fiscal year, the appropriations for education having been increased from \$2,056,515 for 1896 to \$2,517,205 for 1897. New work has been projected and is already under way. Some of the present plants will be enlarged, and several new schools will be established. Among these are proposed large industrial boarding schools for the Pine Ridge and Rosebud agencies. Indians are showing more and more interest in the education of their children, as indicated by the action of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichitas in appropriating \$25,000 of their own money to assist in the "erection of a modern industrial school building to care for two or three hundred children."

It is estimated that there remain about 15,000 Indian children not yet provided with facilities for education. To bring all these under the care of the Indian Office liberal appropriations will be required for some years. Our hope is that before many years a large number of these children will be cared for and educated in the

STATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

During the last year 558 Indian pupils have been enrolled in such schools, the Government paying for each a small tuition fee. This coeducation of the races is, in our view, the ideal aim and the surest method of elevating the Indian to an equality with other citizens. It is through our public schools that we Americanize the Germans, the Irish, the Italians, the Swedes, and other foreign elements of our people. In the same way we can Americanize the Indian. The traditional prejudice against him is still strong, and we can not expect it to give way at once. But by persistent effort and persuasion it may be overcome. It required many years of earnest work to secure the allotment of lands in severalty. It was recommended in our first annual report for 1869 and urged year after year, but it was not till 1887 that the general allotment act was passed. An equally long campaign of education was necessary to abolish the spoils system and to achieve the civil-service reform in the Indian service. So it may take years to correct and change public opinion respecting coeducation of Indian and white children. But the change will come. The States will see that it is their interest as well as their duty to provide for the education of all their citizens, irrespective of race. Some of the State officials already see this.

At the late San Francisco Institute of Indian teachers the superintendent of the public schools of Oregon, Hon. G. M. Irwin, said:

It is the duty of the Government to absorb these people. Every Indian who takes up his land and withdraws from his tribe is as much a citizen as I am. The Indian children, being part of the State, should be taken and enlisted, and given the right to the school fund. The State provides for white children, and the Indian children should be found mingling with the white children. You never can make an Indian a white man if you keep him with the Indians. They can not become citizens and be segregated. The children should be absorbed.

Like sentiments were expressed by others, and the institute adopted the following resolution:

That the absorption of the Indian school system into that of the States should be gradual, and based not only upon the qualification of the Indians themselves, but also upon the disposition of the white population to accede to the Indians just and equal consideration in the enjoyment of the rights under the State school systems.

These are signs of the times, and we hope to see public opinion trending more and more in this direction.

FARMERS AND FIELD MATRONS.

A very important and useful branch of practical education is that conducted by farmers and matrons. The farmer, by precept and example, teaches the adult male Indian how to handle and care for tools and agricultural machines; how to select and plant the seed, and how to harvest and store the crops. Until recently most Indians, though not all, were utterly ignorant of these things. The hoe, the plow, the mower, the reaper were strange implements of whose proper use they had no conception. To place such a man, grown up in ignorance and unused to work, upon his allotment and furnish him with farming implements is as perplexing as a problem in conic sections to an infant. Hence the need of the trained farmer to with go him to the field and lead him, step by step, in the ways of practical husbandry. The progress already made by Indians toward self-support by cultivating the soil is proof sufficient that the funds appropriated for this purpose have not been wasted.

What the farmers are doing for the instruction and help of the men in their out-of-door work the matrons are doing for the instruction of women in the mysteries of housekeeping. For to them civilized methods of living are a perplexing mystery. They need lessons in cooking, dressing, and the care of their children. To have the decencies and comforts familiar to us—to have what we call home—they must learn many things which are new and strange. Hence the importance of the work of the matron who goes from house to house with words of counsel and encouragement and with practical help. Humble as the work is, and full of self-denying toil, its results are and will be more and more useful and beneficent. "Educate the mothers," Napoleon is said to have replied when asked how best to promote the welfare of the State. Whether he said it or not, it is true that no people can be lifted out of barbarism into civilization unless the women keep step with the men in the upward march. So long as the mother remains ignorant and degraded the family will have no true home and the children will grow up without proper training. We are in no danger of overestimating the value of the matron's influence in reforming and purifying the Indian's home and family life. The superintendent of education in his late annual report testifies that "the influence of the field matron continues to be one of the most valuable factors, not only in the civilization of the Indian in his home life, but also in the growth of interest on the part of the Indian in the work of the schools."

And the Commissioner of Indian Affairs closes his report upon this subject with these words:

As the work enlarges, new testimony comes as to its beneficence. Agency physicians acknowledge the help which the field matron gives in supplementing with advice and care their treatment of the sick; the schools owe recruits to field-matron work, direct and indirect, while temperance, good citizenship, hygiene, morality, and intelligence generally are distinctly promoted by her labors and influence.

We are glad, therefore, that Congress has increased the appropriation for this service to \$15,000, and we hope for a larger increase in future, so that the demands for matrons, which come from many quarters, may be fully supplied.

The contract-school system will come to an end at the close of the current fiscal year, in accordance with the following provision of the Indian appropriation act, approved June 10, 1896:

And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school: *Provided*;

That the Secretary of the Interior may make contracts with contract schools, apportioning as near as may be the amount so contracted for among schools of various denominations, for the education of Indian pupils during the fiscal year eighteen hundred and ninety-seven, but shall only make such contracts at places where non-sectarian schools can not be provided for such Indian children and to an amount not exceeding fifty per centum of the amount so used for the fiscal year eighteen hundred and ninety-five. * * *

Our hope is that many of these schools will be continued and generously supported by the churches. They have been very useful in the past, and there will be abundant room for them in the future.

ALLOTMENTS AND PATENTS.

During the last year 2,364 patents have been issued and delivered, and 919 have been issued but not delivered. In addition to these, 2,658 allotments have been approved, and 3,623 have been reported and await final action by the Department. Adding these to the number reported a year ago, it now appears that the total number of allotments up to this date, including 606 to nonreservation Indians, is 56,844, and the total number of patents issued is 37,015. The work is being prosecuted on several reservations, and many applications for allotments have been received. There is no longer any doubt as to the wisdom of the allotment policy. It is doing much for the advancement and permanent improvement of the Indian. No complete report has yet been made of its results, but from many points we have information that it is working well. Agent Woolsey, of the Ponca, Pawnee, and Otoe Agency, Okla., says:

Farming and stock raising, as well as all other industries, can be carried on to a much better advantage with Indians who have their lands in severalty. * * * They have a home of their own, and the work they are doing on their land is making a home for them and their offspring. They are building something that can not be taken away from them.

Of the Indians in Kansas, the testimony is that "they are all more industrious, helpful, and self-supporting than in times past. Each year the amount of cultivated land increases. The Indians are purchasing better farm teams and machinery. They are making homes which consist of good houses, comfortably built, and many of them neatly furnished."

In some cases we fear that there has been too great haste in opening unallotted lands for settlement, and we advise that caution and delay be exercised in future. Many reservations are chiefly suited for grazing purposes. The arable lands should be carefully selected and allotted, but the great area of grazing land should be reserved for the common use of the Indians whose dependence for a livelihood must be the herding of stock. The Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita reservations in Oklahoma, and nearly all the great reservations in Dakota, are chiefly valuable for this purpose. Withholding such lands from settlement will not be popular with multitudes who are eager to get possession, but it is of vital importance to the welfare of the Indians.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

The unhappy condition of affairs in the Indian Territory has changed somewhat for the better since our last report. The Commission to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes is still at work endeavoring

to persuade the people that it is for their interest and welfare to adopt a new form of government, to abandon the communistic system, to allot their lands to individuals, and to become citizens of the United States. Much opposition to any radical change has been felt, but there are now indications that it is beginning to yield. The success in a late election of the party in favor of allotments and citizenship and the appointment of committees to confer with the United States Commission are signs of a change of sentiment. This may be due in part to the significant action of Congress at the last session, as follows:

It is hereby declared to be the duty of the United States to establish a government in the Indian Territory which shall rectify the many inequalities and discriminations now existing in said Territory, and afford needful protection to the lives and property of all citizens and residents thereof.

The whole situation is clearly set forth and ably discussed by ex-Senator Dawes, the chairman of the Commission, in his speech at our Mohonk conference, to which we invite thoughtful attention.

The latest information that comes to us is that the Commission and the Choctaw Indians have made an agreement providing for the abolition of the tribal government and the allotment of lands in severalty, excepting mineral lands and town sites, the agreement to take effect within eight years.

LIQUOR SELLING.

We very deeply regret that no action has yet been taken by Congress to restrict the sale of intoxicating liquors to Indian allottees. A bill to prohibit such traffic was passed by the House of Representatives two years ago, and has again passed the House of the present Congress. We again urge its prompt enactment. The need of such legislation becomes more apparent each year. Our correspondents in regions where allotments have been made describe the baneful effects of the liquor traffic and the agents' want of power to prevent it. Among the latest of this class are the Nez Perces of Idaho. Of them, the well-known faithful missionary, Miss Kate C. McBeth, writes:

Since our own Nez Perces have been plunged into civilization, so great is the change in so short a time for the worse it is hard to believe at times that they are Nez Perces, drinking and gambling going on night and day. The race ground, with the gambling camp, is within sight of the Government school, not a mile distant. Can not the Government give the agent power, for a time at least, to restrain?

Could the members of Congress hear the earnest appeals that come from many quarters, we are confident that measures would be taken to put up again the fences that have been thrown down by the opening of the reservations. (The above-named bill passed the Senate January 25, 1897.)

But we must not rely too much upon legislation. Prohibitory law does not always prohibit. Without local public sentiment in its support, its enforcement is almost impossible, and such public sentiment is not the common environment of Indian residences. The situation, therefore, makes a loud appeal to the Christian people of the country for an increase of missionary work among the Indians. Just now, in this transition period, in this peculiar crisis, the Indian's need of missionary help is greater than ever. Thrust into a new social life, plunged into civilization which he does not fully comprehend, he needs at every step the advice and guidance of a faithful Christian friend. The Government is giving him intellectual and industrial training, but moral

and Christian culture is more important than all else, and that can be given only by the churches, through their missionary societies. If by earnest, faithful missionary effort the Indian can be made a good Christian, he will without doubt be a good citizen.

MERRILL E. GATES, *Chairman.*

E. WHITTLESEY, *Secretary.*

ALBERT K. SMILEY.

WILLIAM H. LYON.

JOSEPH T. JACOBS.

WILLIAM D. WALKER.

PHILIP C. GARRETT.

DARWIN R. JAMES.

FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

HENRY B. WHIPPLE.

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

APPENDIX.

REPORT OF THE PURCHASING COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

SIR: Your committee have the following to report from January 1 to June 30, 1896:

Bids for Indian supplies and transportation, as per advertisement, were received and opened at the Government Indian warehouse, No. 1241 State street, Chicago, Ill., April 29, in the presence of the Hon. D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Joseph E. Bender, representing the honorable Secretary of the Interior, and the secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

A large number of bidders were present; also several reporters. Four hundred and forty-seven bids were received and opened. Mr. D. C. Cregier was in charge of the warehouse as superintendent, and the following-named persons were appointed as inspectors of the samples of goods offered:

W. H. Crocker, for flour, grain, feed, etc.; E. C. Hickey, for harness and leather; Charles T. Lee, for hardware; A. C. Marvin, for stoves, etc.; M. Good, for agricultural implements and wooden ware; E. Thiel, for medical supplies; D. C. Creiger, jr., for paints, oil, and glass.

On May 19 bids for dry goods, clothing, hats and caps, boots and shoes, groceries, crockery, etc., as per advertisement, were opened at the Government Indian warehouse, No. 77 Wooster street, New York City, in the presence of the Hon. D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Joseph E. Bender, representing the honorable Secretary of the Interior, and several members of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

Many bidders and several reporters were also present. Two hundred and twenty bids were received and opened. Mr. H. D. Graves had charge of the warehouse as superintendent, and the following persons were appointed as inspectors of the samples of goods offered:

John H. Bradbury, for dry goods; A. T. Anderson, for clothing; H. Wiechman, for groceries; James Huggins, for boots and shoes; E. L. Cooper, for miscellaneous; F. W. Kohler, for hats and caps; S. S. Carpenter, for hosiery; Mr. Mesreux, for notions; George A. Ferguson, for medical supplies.

The examination of samples and the awarding of contracts occupied about three weeks in each city.

The superintendent of the warehouse reports that 38,334 packages of goods, weighing 4,831,746 pounds, were received and shipped from the warehouse from July 1, 1896, to January 1, 1897, and that very few goods were rejected by the inspectors as not being equal to the samples in quality from which the awards were made. Those rejected were promptly replaced by the contractors to the satisfaction of the inspectors.

WILLIAM H. LYON,
Chairman Purchasing Committee.

Hon. MERRILL E. GATES,
President Board of Indian Commissioners.

REPORT OF PHILIP C. GARRETT.

BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS,
Washington, D. C., May 20, 1896.

DEAR SIR: During the month of April, 1896, I had occasion to seek the healing waters of North Carolina, and paid a visit to Hot Springs, in that State. I was quite ignorant then of the location of the East Cherokees, but finding it very accessible by

the way of Asheville and the Murphy Branch of the Southern Railroad to Whittier Station, I corresponded with the superintendent of the training school, Mr. Julian W. Haddon, and received a cordial reply, with an offer to meet me at Whittier. In accordance with your request, therefore, leaving the springs the day before, on the 2d of April, 1896, I started from Asheville for a short visit to the tract known as the Qualla boundary, occupied by these Indians. It is not in any sense a Government reservation, but belongs to the tribe, who are citizens of North Carolina, and is said to comprise about 70,000 acres. The remnants of the Cherokee tribe who remained in the East after the westward immigration are scattered in the three or four States which here come together, the Qualla boundary being in the extreme southwest corner of North Carolina. The Indians on the tract are supposed to number about 1,500.

The process of natural merger in the white race is going on somewhat rapidly. The late chief, Nimrod J. Smith, alias Chaladibib, was a very handsome man, nearly white; his widow is a white woman, and a number of the children in the training school have light hair and eyes and fair skins, and are entirely unrecognizable as Indians. Those who still retain the Indian characteristics perfectly resemble the Western tribes, and are not unlike the Sioux in appearance, with skins the color of a new copper, and straight, jet black hair. The climatic conditions where they are located are nearly perfect, and their land as fair and beautiful a mountain tract, probably, as is to be found in the length and breadth of the country. Its scenery is the characteristic wild scenery which has rendered that part of North Carolina so famous a resort for health and pleasure seekers, and has tempted Vanderbilt to select it for his baronial residence. Here it is wilder still than about Asheville and Hot Springs. Mountain after mountain rises, forest clad, abruptly from the rivers, which flow swiftly at their feet in tumbling rapids and waterfalls. The woods abound in trees and shrubs familiar to us as garden rarities or cultivated species—the flame-colored azalia, the rhododendron, the coral honeysuckle, the fragrant magnolia glauca, and numerous others.

On my return home I met a horticulturist who was collecting these plants for one of the Rockefellers to adorn his place on the Hudson. The Toco, the Oconolufas, and the Tuckaseegee, flowing through and by the boundary, are beautiful mountain streams on the Tennessee side of the Blue Ridge watershed. Like their brethren, so often, in the West, these Indians are surrounded by very undesirable white neighbors, for the hills are filled with moonshiners, and at the time of my visit prisoners charged with illicit distilling were flocking to the United States court, then in session at Asheville. Their conviction is extremely difficult, on account of false swearing and popular sympathy, and so the wretched business is kept going. The extent of it may be imagined when it is learned that 1,500 cases have appeared for trial at one term of court. It follows that the Indians have no happy influence to expect from the white civilization, so called, around them. In fact, it appears to be cause of jealousy that the Indians are better educated, better treated by the Government, and more fortunate in their wordly circumstances than the whites. During Mr. Haddon's superintendency two raids had been made by parties of mounted white men under the influence of liquor, threatening and frightening the women, and he, with his two Indian policemen, had neither the physical force nor the legal authority to suppress such raids and arrest the offenders. Hitherto personal courage and tact have prevented serious results.

I was received courteously by Mr. Haddon, who is acting agent, and was treated kindly and courteously throughout (with, perhaps, one exception) by him and all the officials. On Saturday, the day of my arrival, the schools were not in session. On the following day I was privileged to attend the Sabbath schools, which took the place of regular religious worship, in the absence of a local preacher, and which were decorously conducted, in an interesting manner by the superintendent, teachers, and officials. A good amount of pedagogic skill was evident, both on that occasion and on the next day upon visiting the morning classes belonging to the training school. These are conducted by four regular teachers, Mrs. Maddon, the superintendent's wife, as principal, and the Misses Jones, Scales, and Williams. I was informed that these were selected under the rules for examination provided in the civil-service law, and they were good examples of the successful working of that system, being skillful teachers, and so far as I learned, getting on harmoniously and in an exemplary way, and all seeming much interested in the school. One of them was from Missouri, one from North Dakota, one from Virginia, and one from North Carolina. The superintendent and his chief clerk were both natives of South Carolina. The teaching I witnessed was of a very elementary character. Some of the pupils displayed remarkable quickness in the oral exercises, especially oral arithmetic; others a fair amount of stupidity or stolidity, but the former quality was conspicuous.

The impression received of the training in industries was that it was too limited. A conversation with the carpenter interested me much. He seemed deeply desirous that the children should receive more instruction in his department, but lamented the absence of tools and accommodations. I desired him to write me a letter stating

what were the greatest needs, and I would see if I could do anything toward getting them supplied. Upon my telling the superintendent of this interview and request, he quickly replied, with more candor than propriety, that if the carpenter complied with it he would be discharged. It seemed to me to argue a want of confidence on the part of the superintendent in his own position that he should object to a perfectly proper conversation or correspondence of an official with a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners as to matters pertaining to the good of the service. The accommodations for carpentry and machine work were certainly inadequate, and very little instruction is given in either. The former, especially, would be valuable, both for manual and optical training and for practical use; the latter, also, for training of the hand and eye, though not of as great utility practically to the Indians on their reservation as carpentry. The rest of the training for boys was in baking, and in farming and gardening and the care of stock. Of the merits of this instruction I had no occasion to doubt, but not much opportunity to judge. The farming operations are too limited to give active employment to any considerable number. The crops are few, consisting mostly of corn and beans, and there is not enough bottom land to graze the stock or to raise crops of hay for winter use.

My inspection of the training school was interrupted early in the day by the superintendent, who had kindly arranged to take me to the Big Cove day school, 10 miles distant. This excursion consumed the day, but it served to give me a strong impression of the inutility of the day schools.

No opportunity presented of visiting the girls' quarters, or of seeing any of their industrial training. I was told they are duly instructed in sewing and in the various household duties proper for their sex. The quarters occupied by the boys were quite too crowded, and there was no provision for sickness and no way of isolating those with contagious diseases. There is urgent need of a small hospital building. It seemed to me there was rather a waste of space in the building occupied for office purposes and storage, which might have been utilized. The doctor's office and drug room were in this building, and perhaps a small ward could be set off for serious cases of illness. This suggestion occurs to me since leaving, and there may be reasons against it.

The drive to Big Cove was through scenery of rare beauty, deep in the recesses of the wooded hills, and along clear, tumbling streams, which were passed and re-passed by fords. There are some of them impassable and dangerous after heavy rains, and there are no bridges. The road was one of the worst I ever traveled, being frequently over beds of uncovered boulders. In many places were masses of fine evergreens; the rhododendrons and azaleas attained a great size, and there were noble specimens of deciduous trees. The economic value of the timber must be very considerable, but the Indians seem to have no intelligent appreciation of this. While I was at the agency a letter came to Mr. Haddon, addressed by Mr. Vanderbilt's forester to the Secretary of the Interior, offering his services gratuitously to superintend the care of the forest on the Cherokees' tract, in accordance with the principles of forestry, the Indians doing the work. The Secretary had sent it to Mr. Haddon for his consideration. The Government could do nothing, for it was not a Government reservation, and the Indians would not probably realize the value of the work to them enough to sacrifice their ease and expend labor on it. Liberal and enlightened as the forester's offer was, they would not probably second it.

A generous dinner, including a quantity of mountain trout, caught for us in a branch of the Oconolufita, awaited us at the Cove, but the inspection of the school amounted to but little. It was depopulated by whooping cough, and there were only 10 scholars present out of 45 on the roll, and several of these suffering from the prevailing epidemic. A feeble effort was made to give a recitation for my benefit, but it was poor and made in an utterly inaudible voice. The Soco school was closed, and that at Beidtown was also much reduced. The teachers at the open schools were both sons-in-law of Chief Smith, whose family the superintendent regarded as having had quite too much of the "loaves and fishes" of the tribe. It is somewhat doubtful if the day schools, unless they can be made more efficient, are worth the cost of sustaining them, and whether a concentration of the entire outlay on the training school would not do more for the people.

The total number of school children was given to me by Chief Clerk Graves as about 200, of which, say, 80 were attending the training school, and the rest day scholars. Evidently much fewer were in the school at that time. If it is necessary to take the first steps in English in the day schools to prepare pupils for the training school, the former should be made more efficient, and should be supplied with trained teachers of the grade of those in the training school. This, and an increase in the industrial facilities at the training school, would seem to be imperative, if the education here is to be properly effective.

The general condition of the Eastern Cherokees is apparently a happy one. They are not ambitious; most of the fine farms occupying the bottom lands are in the hands of white men, and the little homesteads of the Indians are perched on the hill-

sides and in the mountain coves. Nor are they very contented; and if the principle of discontent could be directed from impotent grumbles and factional quarrels to a lively concern for their own self-improvement, it would be of value as the basis of growth. But they are quite as well off as many an humble white farmer; much better than the worthless portion of the population of their own vicinity.

A visit to the home of Lewis Owl showed many evidences of mechanical skill, if not many of domestic comfort or luxury. The house was constructed of logs, deftly hewn and neatly fitted together. Near it was a small smithy, with forge and anvil. By the side of the porch stood a large mortar and pestle, very smoothly and accurately shaped out of oak—such as is used for grinding their corn; a handmade loom; a sled for oxen, or more likely for a single ox, according to their custom; homemade hames, good baskets, and in the river, near by, a canoe of the Cherokee pattern, about 20 feet long and 2 feet wide, hewn from a solid log, and turned up at the ends. This, if a type, was perhaps an unusually good type of the homes scattered among the hills. The names of animals, as wolf, owl, bird, etc., still are popular surnames. The principal chief who succeeds Chief Smith is Standing Deer.

There is a disposition, probably instigated by the white population, to urge the removal of these Eastern Cherokees to their nation in the Indian Territory. The inclination to favor this is stimulated still further by the depressing condition of factional strife which has sprung up. But it would be far better if they would settle down where they are, cherish a spirit of contentment, foster their little industries and build up new ones, and abandon the communal tenure of land, which has proven a fruitful source of difference among them.

Respectfully submitted.

PHILIP C. GARRETT, *Commissioner.*

Gen. E. WHITTLESEY,
Secretary Board of Indian Commissioners.

REPORT OF FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS,
Washington, D. C., August 15, 1896.

DEAR SIR: At its meeting in New York City on May 19, 1896, the United States Board of Indian Commissioners voted "that Commissioner Leupp be requested to visit as many Indian agencies and schools as practicable during the coming summer, and to attend the teachers' institutes to be held at St. Paul, Minn., Lawrence, Kans., and San Francisco, Cal., by Dr. Hailmann, superintendent of Indian education."

In accordance with this request, having been called to St. Louis in June by private business, I seized the opportunity of an interval when my work was least pressing to make a tour through some of the Western country where there are Indian schools and reservations. My first objective point was the school at Flandreau, S. Dak., concerning which a number of damaging stories had got abroad. One of these accused certain employees of scandalous conduct; another represented the supervision of the pupils by Leslie D. Davis, the superintendent, as so slack that immorality had become rife among them, and it had been necessary to send home two girls who gave signs of approaching maternity.

Inquiry on the spot showed that both these reports, although having a basis of fact, such as it was, on which to rest, were exaggerated and unjust.

It is true that the principal teacher, a young man named Jester, had been guilty of indiscreet conduct in connection with Miss Warren, a Chippewa mixed blood from White Earth, who filled a subordinate position as teacher, and Miss Tyler, the white baker for the school. Mr. Jester's attentions to the young women appear to have gone no further than a rather intense flirtation, involving nothing criminal or immoral. He was, perhaps, overfond of their society, and, flattered by the evident pleasure they found in his, their responsiveness seems to have been due to a romantic susceptibility inherent in their natures, and its too candid expression was doubtless largely the result of their inexperience of the world. Both Miss Warren and Miss Tyler gave every appearance of being women of worthy life and honest purpose. The rather severe lesson they have learned from this incident will probably prevent further errors of this sort if they are transferred to other fields, which I understand is to be done. Mr. Jester, however, has been under fire before for like indiscretions, and does not appear to have learned anything by experience. He is a competent man in certain branches of formal educational work, but while a good surface disciplinarian and drillmaster in the class room, seems to lack the sympathetic personal interest in his young charges which is so important a part of the equipment of a worker in the Indian school service.

As to the cases of the Indian girls sent home, I ascertained that two girls brought from Pine Ridge Reservation and named, respectively, Rosa Nelson and Leta Livermont, had fallen ill soon after their arrival at Flandreau, their symptoms being such as to convince Dr. Spafford, the school physician, that they were well on the way to become mothers. One of them confessed very promptly in response to the Doctor's questions; the other kept up her denials stoutly for a time, but at last yielded. Both girls named the young men at Pine Ridge who were responsible for their condition. They were accordingly sent home, and their parents informed of all the facts. Since then they both have been married to the young men involved and borne children in wedlock.

Of a third complaint it is not so easy to dispose. A young white man named Walter, employed as the school tailor, was accused some time ago of speaking improperly to some of the Indian girls detailed to his shop. The actual words used constituted less of an offense than the suggestion conveyed. Walter was called to account by Superintendent Davis, confessed his fault, and expressed contrition. He has relatives living in the neighborhood, and had procured a transfer from another school to Flandreau, so as to be near them. The menace of removal or transfer to some remote point was a fearful blow to him, and he pleaded earnestly for another trial. The superintendent required him first to apologize to the pupils who had witnessed his misconduct, and then consented to accept his pledge of better behavior and let him remain. As far as can be ascertained he has borne himself without reproach, at least in the same direction, since receiving this discipline. There is room for doubt, however, of the policy of permitting an employee to continue at a school where he has once been in disgrace. The Indian mind is prone to suspicion, and is not trained to draw nice distinctions, and the man who has once placed himself in Walter's position is apt to have the incident remembered against him a long time, if not forever. The superintendent's idea in retaining him was that his contrition was sincere, and that, with the memory of his humiliation always kept in mind by his surroundings, he would be more proof against temptation at Flandreau than anywhere else, and would be disposed, by establishing a record for industry and usefulness, to live down the past.

One reason why everything out of the ordinary which occurs at the Flandreau school is so quickly bruited abroad is that the Flandreau Indians, who have a settlement on the edge of the town, regard the school as under their special supervision. Like all Indians, they are much given to talk among themselves, and any bit of gossip which gets afloat in the neighborhood loses nothing in their passage of it from mouth to mouth.

These Indians, by the way, are generally worthy of encouragement. They were among the first to take up the white men's way of independent living and self-support, and therein set an excellent example. They are poor, and a succession of short crops compelled them sometime ago to mortgage their farms. They were looking forward with some dread, at the time I was there, to the possibility of foreclosure and the loss of their homes. To avert this calamity the Secretary of the Interior consented to commute their annual issue of farm stock and implements this year and pay them cash instead, so that they could apply the money to the relief of the liens on their property.

It has long been the practice of the school physician to attend the Flandreau Indians in illness. An appropriation used to be made by Congress to cover the cost of his attendance. Since this appropriation ceased, the physician has gone on attending those who called upon him for aid, making no charge to those unable to pay. The service is purely an act of sympathy and good will, and if it involved simply the physician's time and the exercise of his professional skill in diagnosis and prescription, it might go on indefinitely, but when to these are added a heavy draft upon his stock of drugs with each prescription, the aggregate annual expense becomes considerable. It seems but right that some provision should be made by Congress for reimbursing this actual cash expense which he now meets out of his private purse; the outlay of time and trouble to which he is put by his kindness of heart are as much of a contribution to the cause of the Indian in distress as ought to be demanded of one man, and the fear that the Indians would be pauperized by this assistance, temporarily extended, is sufficiently offset by the spectacle they now present of self-respecting effort, with very little encouragement from the Government or anybody else.

Within 15 miles of Flandreau lies Pipestone, Minn., the seat of another Indian boarding school, which I embraced this opportunity to visit. The proximity of the two institutions illustrates a crying evil of our Indian legislation. There is no reason or excuse for planting these two schools almost within gunshot of each other. The land which Senator Pettigrew sold to the Government for a site for the Flandreau school is abundant to permit of the expansion of that school to five times its present dimensions if need be, or if Pipestone appeared to be a more desirable location, the reservation there would easily accommodate both the neighboring school

plants. Nothing but motives of political expediency and the vice of logrolling will account for such a multiplication of institutions where the same money could be expended to so much greater advantage in strengthening one already established and in good working order.

Dropping in upon the Pipestone school without warning, I found Prof. De Witt S. Harris, the superintendent, on his knees in the main entrance hall putting down a new floor with his own hands. A majority of the pupils had gone home for vacation, and this seemed to be a convenient season for making some necessary repairs. The allowance of money at Professor Harris's disposal was insufficient to pay for both flooring material and the labor of laying it, so, having a natural mechanical faculty and considerable acquired skill, he was turning these to account so as to squeeze as much as possible out of his meager fund. I went through the school and found everything in perfect order, in spite of there being no expectation of a visit. One thing which impressed me most pleasantly was the evidence on all sides of the personal affection of the smaller children for the superintendent. His appearance in a doorway anywhere was the signal for the little tots to drop their play and rush toward him, grasping his hands and clinging about him with caresses. Even though a stranger to them, the fact that I was in his convoy seemed enough to carry me also into their good graces, and I shared their endearments. All this was in so sharp contrast with the proverbial shyness of the little Indian child, that one could not escape the impression that these young folk had been treated in such a way as to win their absolute confidence—a great point gained in the way not only of influencing the children themselves for good, but of reaching the hearts of the parents, and through them giving to the tribes of which they are members a kinder feeling for the white man's civilization.

Professor Harris is much hampered in his work for lack of facilities. He has a school plant adequate, in its own way, to the needs of 75 pupils; but he has already 86 pupils, and will be required next season to find room for 100. He reasons, and very properly, that small schools are a wasteful investment, the same per capita outlay making vastly better provision for 200 than for 100 pupils. He has accordingly recommended a number of improvements, including a twenty-thousand dollar stone building, with a wash room, bathroom, and play rooms in the basement; small boys' dormitory rooms, matron's room and sitting room on the first floor, and larger boys' dormitory rooms and rooms for the industrial teacher and farmer on the second. Another recommendation is for a ten-thousand dollar stone building for school purposes, with a furnace in the basement, four schoolrooms on the first floor, and an assembly room on the second.

Whether or not he succeeds in getting these expensive additions to his general plant, he will certainly have to have an enlarged water plant and a new sewer system, each estimated to cost about \$300. The water supply is barely sufficient to meet present needs; it will have to be materially increased to keep pace with the growth of the school attendance. But the present sewer system is worse than inadequate. It would be a charity to forbear asking who planned anything so contrary to the plain dictates of common sense. To extend it on its present lines would surely result in polluting the water supply, and to repair it with a view to its use much longer would be a sheer waste of money. The only thing to do with it is to rip it up and remodel it.

A temporary school building, which, it is estimated, could be put up for about \$1,100, is another immediate need, merely to provide seating room for the children who will be sent to this school for the coming winter.

On my way to Flandreau and Pipestone, having been detained by an accident at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, I ran out to Tama and visited the Sac and Fox Reservation. Government school work has been so crippled there of late by a conjunction of adverse conditions not necessary to rehearse here that the children have for the most part become utterly idle and indifferent. They find more pleasure and profit in sitting on the banks of Cedar River and playing with a fishing rod, or in opening the reservation gates for teams to pass in and out and picking up the small coin tossed to them by the drivers, than in poring over their books. The whole reservation is a sorry object lesson in the folly of trying to improve a tribe of Indians by setting them down in one spot, drawing a sacred circle about them, and obstructing in every practicable way their free intercourse with their white neighbors. Here have these people been settled for the better part of a half century, in the midst of a busy and wholesome white civilization, yet they are substantially no further advanced in the useful arts than when their reserve was first set apart for them. Here and there may be seen a thrifty garden patch, with corn and beans and a few other vegetables. But for these suggestions of creature comfort, a fertile soil and a few energetic squaws deserve a large share of the credit. By this is not meant that all the men are lazy and incompetent. Some of them work, and very faithfully.

Local report also has it that two or three of the shrewdest Indians have saved their annuity and other income, gone out into the surrounding country and pur-

chased good-sized farms, where land commanded from \$40 to \$70 an acre, which they are now renting to white farmers at a profitable figure. These stories I was unable to trace down to their source in the brief period of my visit, so that I can not vouch for their truth. The fact that they are current in Tama, however, and readily believed by white citizens there, is itself significant, as it shows that long contact with these Indians has not filled the minds of the whites with that contempt for their natural capacity which one finds so prevalent in white communities on the frontier.

These Indians live in rough board shanties, one story in height, roofed with a thatch of rushes, and commonly containing only one room. There are no windows of the conventional pattern. In their stead a single long clapboard is left loose from the frame and swung on strap hinges, so that in fair weather, or when light and ventilation are needed, it can be let down, but on the approach of a storm, or when the outside air is too cold, it can be put up in place and buttoned fast. Each house is supplied with a rude porch or shed under which is a permanent table. On the table the housewife prepares the family food for cooking, and when it is not employed for that purpose the head of the household uses it for a couch, stretching himself out on it while he smokes his pipe. There is usually attached to the house a fragile wickiup, its frame made of bent saplings, and its outside covering of leafy boughs and plaited rushes. This is a cool loafing place in summer, and in the case of the more uncleanly, a welcome refuge from the vermin which infest the dingy, sunless, and ill-aired interiors of the board shanties.

The shanties, by the way, show other signs of an imperfect civilization than the movable clapboard. They are built with gables like ordinary farm buildings, but as a rule the horizontal plank sheathing stops where the square ceases and the angle begins. Diagonal sawing appears to have presented too much of a mechanical problem, or to have involved too much labor for the Indian builders, who accordingly proceeded to fill the angles made by the gables with strips of rough bark from well-matured trees, patched here and there with rush thatching. It is such primitive workmanship as might have been turned out by an untaught mechanic with an ax, a jackknife, hammer, and nails.

In costume a majority of the older males follow the general fashion of the whites, though with a blanket added in some cases. A few of the young Indians, 18 to 25 years of age, who have had enough schooling and come sufficiently into contact with the whites to have their pride stimulated, pay considerable attention to their attire, and appear at Tama in smart suits and neat linen. The squaws dress in the style common to their race and sex farther West, twisting and pinning their gay-colored shawls into picturesque but wholly barbaric shapes. The younger children run about wholly naked or adorned with a G string, the only effect of which is to accentuate their nudity.

One thing must be said in favor of the situation of the Sac and Fox Indians at Tama—they get very little liquor. Public sentiment is so strong against such traffic in the neighborhood that conviction and punishment follow, usually with much celerity, an offense against the law, and the lower class of dramsellers have learned to fear organized justice, even where humane scruples have no weight.

On leaving Flandreau I went to the Sisseton Agency in South Dakota. I found the agent, A. M. Keller, in the midst of the task of paying the Indians the sum of their annuity and the interest on their general fund, amounting to somewhat more than \$34 per capita. The annuity payment of nine dollars and some cents had been due and expected during the winter, or at least early in the spring, but the \$25 interest was withheld a good while to await the approval of the President. The Indians, who had suffered more or less from deficient crops, had run rather heavily into debt to the licensed traders at the agency and to merchants in the neighboring towns of Wilmot and Brown's Valley; the creditors had become clamorous for their pay, and at their instigation the Indians had refused to accept the annuity money separately, as it would go such a little distance in relieving the burden of debt. The President has made no official explanation of his long delay in withholding his approval of the interest payment; but it is generally assumed that, understanding that the Indians' money would be promptly seized by their creditors, and that the latter had not been actuated by unselfish regard for the Indians' welfare in allowing the debts to reach such proportions, he was disposed to teach the importunate a sharp lesson, in order to discourage as far as possible their habit of selling goods on trust, and lending money to their improvident red patrons.

To no small extent, undoubtedly, this judgment of the conduct of the merchants in Browns Valley and Wilmot was entirely just. The debts contracted by the Indians there were partly for the necessities of life and partly for arrant follies. Nine merchants out of ten made no distinction between selling a penniless Indian a sack of flour or a side of bacon and selling him candy or a bead necklace. For either class of goods they knew that they must wait for their pay, but they also knew that one represented the legitimate satisfaction of a need, while the other

represented the gratification of an extravagant whim. I asked two or three of these merchants how they justified their action in extending credit for nonsensical purchases when the Indians had no excuse for running into debt except to save themselves and their families from suffering. The answer was always the same: "If I refuse to sell an Indian candy, he will go somewhere else to buy his flour. I can't afford to offend my Indian customers any more than my white ones." Indirect inquiry satisfied me also that the prices charged by these outside merchants, who are not under the same supervision and restraints as the agency traders, were pretty high. They justify the extra figures by the risk they run in giving credit to a class of customers who can not be held to the same rigid account for their debts as white patrons. A creditor can sue out a writ and seize a white debtor's land, presumptively his most valuable possession, but the land of an Indian allottee is sacred under the Government's trusteeship.

Nevertheless, a considerable share—probably the largest—of the Indians' debts have been contracted for subsistence during a severe season, when, partly through natural conditions which were beyond their control and partly through their own lack of foresight and thrift, they found themselves in real straits. The long delay in making the combined payment, moreover, did not accomplish its purpose. It merely increased the importunity of the creditors without changing their disposition as to future extensions of credit, and it kept the Indians' thoughts away from their work and wholly centered upon the coming distribution. Not a few who, if they had had their money early in the spring, would have spent at least a part of it upon seed and started crops, let the planting season pass, and wasted their time hanging about the agency waiting for news from Washington. The result is that a considerably smaller acreage appears to have been planted this year than usual. This sort of demoralization showed itself in other ways also. At the Good Will Indian School, which is maintained by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, within a stone's throw of the Government school and about 2 miles from the agency, the superintendent, the Rev. G. Sumner Baskervill, spends a generous sum every year on cord wood for fuel, which he aims to buy of the Indians. Heretofore he has found the more industrious Indians rather eager to bring in wood and carry away cash for it. This year he kept his fuel fund on hand four or five months without having the chance to pay out an amount of any consequence. A thrifty Indian here and there would bring in a load, but the great mass of those who usually had wood for sale preferred to sit down and wait for the long-promised remittance from the Federal Treasury. When I visited him he was in some doubt when and where he should obtain his season's supply.

The superabundance of "red tape" connected with all the pecuniary transactions of the Government is notably in evidence in such a per-capita payment as that made at the Sisseton Agency this year. It seems as if some better system might be devised than one which drags a week's legitimate work through the better part of two months. During all this long period the agency served as a convenient lounging place for those Indians who wanted an excuse to be idle, for they had only to plead that they were waiting for their turn. Would it not be practicable in such cases to have the agent make out a pay roll and forward a certified copy to Washington; let the check for each Indian payee be made out there and forwarded in bulk to the agent; have each Indian allottee notified personally at his home by the police to be at the agency or some other suitable place on a certain day; pay out the checks on identification by the agent and cash them as fast as presented and indorsed at a neighboring desk? By permitting the checks, receipt rolls, and money to be handled only by bonded officers of the Government, it seems as if every possible safeguard would be thrown about the rights of the Indians, especially if pains were taken to insure the attendance of intelligent, disinterested, and independent witnesses of approved integrity—such as the local missionaries, who, presumptively among them, know most of the Indians by sight and name.

The creditors who considered themselves aggrieved by the long delay in this summer's payment avenged themselves in characteristic fashion, by procuring the insertion in the general Indian appropriation act for the fiscal year 1897 of a clause providing "that all the interest due the Sisseton and Wapeton Indians * * * hereafter * * * on the permanent fund * * * , after deducting the amount expended for education, shall be paid in cash per capita on the 1st day of November of each year." In other words, it is the purpose of these men to get all their credits and loans paid up as far as possible before the season of stress sets in and open a new set of books thereafter. Their hope is that, for the sake of procuring fresh credit, the Indians will, generally, use their November money to square their outstanding accounts. The best friends of the Indians, however, regard the choice of an autumn month for this payment as unfortunate. It might as well be recognized first as last that the present generation of Indians learn their lessons in industry and prudence through the impulse of sore physical need rather than through the attraction of moral suasion or the conclusions of abstract logic. Give the Sissetons their cash in

hand in November and a majority of them will be living in idleness and renewing their credits in December, for the only use they have for money at that season is to pay their debts, and why should they trouble themselves to cut and haul cord wood or do other hard work when they can buy their supplies on trust?

Spring will find these men without a dollar in their pockets to buy seed for the next season's planting. From the point of view of the Indians' welfare, it would have been much better to provide for the interest payment in the early spring, when, under the influence of the agent and the missionaries, they might have been induced to spend a good part of it in starting a new crop. If the Indian administration at Washington sees fit, it can still outwit the unduly shrewd gentlemen who procured this bit of special legislation in their own behalf by spending the whole of the interest money on seed and other agricultural necessities, and paying it in this concentrated form to the Indians. There is no statutory or judicial definition, as far as I have been able to ascertain, which limits the application of the term "education" to instruction in schools or through books. The most practical education that can be given to the great mass of Indians at the present juncture in the progress of their race takes the form of instruction and encouragement in the arts of self-support and thrift, and every dollar of the Indians' money which the Government devotes to making farmers out of idlers is "expended for education" as truly as if it were used for building schoolhouses and buying text-books.

At any rate, there is an installment of \$18,400 due the Sissetons and Wahpetons each year under the agreement of 1889, netting a trifle more than \$9 per capita according to the present enrollment. Unfortunate as it is to have the routine of their lives disturbed twice in each year by money payments, it is to be hoped that the Indian Office will take pains to make this annuity payment not later than March in each year, and will hold forth, through its representatives on the ground, every possible inducement to the payees to spend their money wisely for the improvement of their farms.

Agent Keller deserves credit for the efforts he has made to prevent the merchant creditors from pouncing upon the Indians and getting their money away as soon as it is paid to them, and to block the schemes of whisky dealers, gamblers, and miscellaneous sharpers for debauching and robbing those who have anything left after paying their debts. For some years it was the practice of the creditors to have their agents hanging about the doors of the pay room, and the traders in various forms of vice and dissipation would set up their tents almost under the eaves of the main agency building.

Mr. Keller, however, in the face of all sorts of threats, assumed the responsibility of drawing a circle around the agency, within which he would allow nobody to step who had not some obviously proper business there. This circle he widened from time to time as the sharpers devised various tricks for eluding his vigilance, till he finally forbade the intruders to set foot upon any land reserved or controlled by the Government, or the roads passing through such land. This seemed to be all that was necessary till the gang discovered that a certain quarter section on a knoll separated from the agency grounds by a ravine, and which was marked on an official plat in the agent's office as allotted land, was really unallotted or relinquished. It was too late then for the Indian Office to secure the cooperation of the General Land Office and close up this gap so the proprietors of the "tado-tepees" (meat houses), restaurants, and tents for gaming and prostitution, flocked to this haven of refuge, secure from the interference of the agent and his police. The creditors and their representatives infested the trail leading from the improvised town to the boundary of the agency grounds, and any Indian debtor who ventured across the line was seized and dunned. Whether the reckoning he was called upon to pay was correct or not, there was rarely any means of discovering. The creditor had a little book containing a memorandum of the amount claimed, and the Indian had no vouchers with which to compare and balance. He commonly paid whatever was asked, and if he had any money left he was a shrewd fellow to get away with a dollar of it after running the gantlet of the sharpers farther up the hill. Next year it is reasonable to hope that all the forces of the Government, working in unison, may be equal to the task of compelling the outlaws to quit business in this neighborhood. Mixing with them without revealing my identity, I discovered that the greater part of their trade this year was not with the Indians, but with the whites from Wilmot, Browns Valley, and neighboring settlements, and that it was disappointing in volume.

From the Sisseton Agency I went to the first summer-school encampment of the Indian Y. M. C. A., on the western shore of Big Stone Lake, where I finished my official travels for the fiscal year 1896. The borders of this lake have been famous as camping grounds for the Indians in times past, and nearly every acre on both sides has some striking historical association. The very site occupied by the summer school is strewn with the remains of the "big medicine" camps of former days. The school was established particularly for the Dakota or Sioux tribe, among whom Dr. Charles A. Eastman has been organizing associations on every reservation.

Besides Dr. Eastman himself, the corps of instructors and managers consisted of C. K. Ober, of Chicago, C. M. Copeland, of Minneapolis, and W. B. Millar, of New York, all field secretaries of the International Y. M. C. A. committee; the Rev. Dr. Alfred L. Riggs, of Santee Agency, Nebr.; I. E. Brown, of Chicago, State secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of Illinois, and H. F. Kallenberg, a teacher in the Y. M. C. A. training school in Chicago, and an all-round athlete. Dr. Eastman is the secretary of the international committee for work among the Indians. He is the only Indian in the management of the camp, but the pupil membership of the school is entirely of Dakota Indians drawn from the Sisseton, Santee, Yankton, Lower Brulé, Flan-dreau, Granite Falls, Devils Lake, Crow Creek, and Beulah (Canada) reservations and colonies.

The central feature of the camp consisted of a large, round tent for use for the daily lessons and indoor entertainments. Behind this were grouped a colony of tents occupied by the teachers and leaders, together with their kitchen and dining tents. On the hills around were dotted Indian tepees, or wigwams, with their customary outside accessories, barring alone the inharmonious dogs. The design of the authors of the enterprise is to conduct this school on the same plan as the summer schools of Northfield, Mass.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Lake Geneva, Wis., and Cazadero Grove, Cal.

The routine followed was very simple. After the instructors had breakfasted they held a short devotional meeting, and at 9 o'clock stepped out upon the bluff and shouted in all directions that the hour for assembling had come. As many of the Indians could not speak English, this announcement was made in the Dakota language, and the effort of some of the shouters to master the pronunciation rarely failed to arouse merriment in all the Indian camps around. Then the young Sioux appeared, singly or in groups of two or three, Indian fashion, from the ravines or over the hill-tops, and made their way toward the lesson tent. Here Dr. Riggs, or Mr. Copeland, perhaps, delivered a short lecture on a religious topic, annotated on the blackboard as he proceeded. Dr. Riggs spoke Dakota fluently, and translated an occasional key phrase or sentence into English for the benefit of his fellow-teachers who did not understand him. When one of the English-speaking teachers addressed the school, Dr. Eastman, or Dr. Riggs, or one of the more expert linguists among the students, turned the speech into Dakota for the Indians.

It was an odd sight—this bare tent, with its carpet of closely mowed prairie grass, standing on the very site of the old medicine dance floor, with no reading desk except a barrel set on end, and no other furniture but a blackboard; the lecturer standing by the center pole, book in one hand and chalk in the other, and thirty or forty swarthy young faces looking up into his, their owners, the sons and grandsons of Sioux warriors, sitting or lying in the restful attitudes familiar to the savage Indian in his tepee and jotting down the heads of his discourse in their notebooks. It was hard to believe that this class of young men, clad in citizen's dress and preparing themselves for missionary work among their contemporaries in their tribe, were only once removed from aboriginal barbarism, and that most of them, after the exercises in the lesson tent, were going back for a noonday dinner to their wigwams, maintained in the same style as those of their ancestors, and as those, indeed, in which most of them were born and reared.

Before and after the lecture there were singing and prayer, and then Dr. Brown made one of a series of addresses which he had prepared on the history of the Young Men's Christian Association and its work. Next followed an informal question-and-answer conference on the topics of the morning, or on some special subject concerning which certain students desired particular information. At noon the gathering dispersed, to be summoned again about 2 in the afternoon to the athletic field, a short distance from the camp. Here some hours were consumed in "putting the stone," basket ball, and other games and feats of strength. The Indians entered into these amusements with the keenest zest, and showed wonderful cleverness in learning the new points given them by Mr. Kallenberg, who superintended their outdoor sports. After the fun had lasted long enough the whole party, hot and jolly, rushed for the lakeside, where, in a bay with a fine sandy bottom, they swam and splashed and frolicked for an hour longer before separating for supper.

In the evening the party gathered once more for a short religious lecture by one of the teachers who had not spoken earlier in the day, which was followed by a stereopticon exhibition by Mr. Miller. The views presented began with a few of a general nature, then came a few illustrative of the historical lecture of the morning, and finally a series on some religious or moral topic. A half hour after the lesson tent was cleared the populace of the central camp had crawled into their beds, tired and happy, the lights were out, and the silence was unbroken till morning.

The summer school gave every appearance, at its opening session, of having a most successful career before it. This year it had several handicaps, such as the newness of the idea to the conservative Indian mind, the near approach of the Fourth of July celebrations on the different reservations, the money payment in progress at

the neighboring Sisseton Agency, and the closing exercises at several of the reservation schools. Yet, in spite of all the counter attractions, a good-sized body of picked young men, the flower of many bands, were drawn together by a desire to learn and to meet others who were learning likewise. It was to me a very interesting spectacle, and a noteworthy sign of the times in the field of Indian civilization.

The remaining features of my summer's journeying in the interest of our Board must be reserved for a report for the fiscal year 1897. Meanwhile, I am, sir,

Very respectfully, yours,

FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

Hon. E. WHITTLESEY,

United States Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.

REPORT OF FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS,
Washington, D. C., August 30, 1896.

DEAR SIR: In a report dated the 15th instant, I had the honor to present a brief description of the visit paid by me, prior to June 30, to sundry Indian agencies and schools, in obedience to the resolution adopted by our Board at its meeting in New York City on May 19, 1896.

The second stage of my travels began with a visit to La Pointe Agency, in Wisconsin. There are seven reservations attached to this agency, but at only two of them, Bad River and Lac du Flambeau, had any difficulties been reported to me as needing adjustment.

Bad River Reservation is about 6 miles from Ashland, Wis. It contains 645 Chipewewa Indians, most of them living in and about the little village of Odanah. Lieutenant Mercer, when he took charge of the agency, found the station of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad at a point just off the reservation, where, of course, he would have no control over the sale of liquor or other vicious influences brought to bear upon the Indians. Largely through his instrumentality the railroad company was induced to remove the station to a point farther down the road, so that now the agent has the little settlement surrounding the station substantially under his authority. This enables him in a great measure to keep disorderly characters off the reservation, at least so far as their entering it by rail is concerned.

For some time after the allotments made between 1873 and 1880—much of the allotting having been very poorly performed—those Indians who knew where their allotments were and who had any live woodland were accustomed to make contracts with any lumberman they pleased, and at any time, for cutting and marketing their timber. Lieutenant Mercer changed this practice, and made a general contract in 1894 with J. S. Stearns, a lumber merchant of Ludington, Mich., to put up on this reservation a steam sawmill of the most modern and complete pattern, and to undertake the cutting and sawing of the timber of any of the Indians who wished to avail themselves of such facilities, paying a uniform rate of \$4 per 1,000 feet for green white pine, and a descending scale of prices for other classes of timber, down to 65 cents for that which could be used only in the manufacture of shingles. The rights of the Indians were protected by a heavy bond, and the plant itself could not be duplicated for less than \$300,000 or \$350,000. The contractor has, therefore, entirely apart from any moral scruples or consideration for his commercial reputation, every possible incentive to deal justly by the Indians and give them satisfaction. Among other things to which he was bound by his agreement was the hiring of Indians to work in his mill wherever it was practicable and their labor would be equal to that of white men in the same positions.

About the time of the execution of the contract a severe fire swept over the forests in this neighborhood, taking a part of the reservation in its track. The contractor has therefore been obliged to devote most of his energies to working up the timber on the burned tracts, so as to save as much as possible for himself and for the Indian owners, since wood in the condition of these trees deteriorates very rapidly through both the action of the elements and the work of the worms. The contractor is a cautious man, apparently anxious to be always on the safe side; and one evidence of this disposition, additional to the discrimination he has made between the burnt and the green timber, is shown in the fact that he has enlarged his mill at Bad River to a capacity 50 per cent greater than required by his contract, and has operated it both day and night continually during the sawing season; so that, instead of the 50,000 feet daily which he was called upon to saw, he has actually sawed from 100,000 to 150,000 feet in his two shifts.

The process of removing the timber and paying for it may be briefly described. When the contractor was permitted to enter this reservation he made an estimate of

substantially all the different kinds of timber on the various allotments. On making a contract with the owner of a certain allotment he pays the Indian \$50 cash down, and, at the end of each year until the cutting is finished, pays him in addition 5 per cent on the estimated amount of the timber, all these advances being deducted at the final settlement. The money is not paid in any case to the Indian directly, but to the agent, who keeps in his office a full set of double-entry books, with an account for each Indian. When an Indian wants any of his money he applies to the agent for it. The agent keeps his draft as a voucher and pays the money by check, so that at any moment the condition of an Indian's account, with vouchers for each item, can be referred to if desired. The contractor does his cutting by a subcontract with someone—usually an Indian of mixed blood—who undertakes the organization of a lumbering gang and maintains a camp at his own expense. The subcontractor is paid by the amount he cuts and delivers at the river landing, this amount being ascertained on the basis of the reports of the official scalers. As the subcontractors are generally men who were born and brought up in the woods, and whose contracts for a season run up into tens of thousands of dollars, not only are they practically equipped to judge of the correctness of the scalers' estimates, but self-interest insures them against letting these estimates be too small.

So the Indian seller's rights are doubly protected. The scalers are chosen by the contractor and the agent jointly. The literal demand of the contract is that the Indian and the contractor shall jointly choose the scalers, and that the agent shall approve their choice. The present practice is therefore merely a short cut to the same end, since the only scalers who would be acceptable to the agent are those whom he selects jointly with the contractor. The old practice was to allow the Indians to choose their own scalers, each for himself, in making a contract; but this led often to serious abuses. The lumber country was full of incompetent, corrupt, and irresponsible scalers, the ignorant full bloods were cheated right and left by both contractors and scalers, and there is good reason to believe that a part of the money taken out of their pockets by fraud went into the pockets of one or more of the canny half bloods, who, ostensibly moved by the impulse of race sympathy and personal friendship, had contrived to act as negotiators between the parties.

The subcontractors who do the cutting, as a rule, fill up their camps with Indian laborers, so that the system now in vogue extends as widely as possible the benefits of this local labor market to the Indians themselves. The books at Bad River show that, besides some \$30,000 which the contractor has paid out to the Indians directly for labor in the mill, \$60,000 of his money has been spent on their hire in the logging camps.

The operations under the old indiscriminate system are now recalled chiefly from tradition, as no official records were kept of them; but the Indians themselves are satisfied that they were badly treated under it, and enough fragmentary evidence crops out here and there to confirm this view.

A scaler is not accepted by the agent unless he can furnish the highest testimonials from responsible lumbermen who have employed him. He is paid one-half his wages by the contractor and the other half by the Indian on whose allotment the scaling is done. He marks each log on one end with its own number and on the other with the number of the allotment, so as to identify it in every respect. Each week he makes a report naming the allotment cut, the number of each log and the feet of lumber in it, and the class of timber to which it belongs. One copy of this report goes to the contractor, one to the agent, and one to the Government farmer in immediate charge of the reservation. As a check upon the operations of the scaler, however, the agent employs an experienced man of approved character at the expense of the Indians to examine and rescale logs taken here and there at random and report upon them separately. The agent compares his reports with the reports of the scalers on the same logs, so that if any considerable discrepancy is discovered the scalers may be called to account. The independent inspector also goes over the allotments which are supposed to have been cleared, and if he finds any merchantable timber left there the agent charges its value against the contractor, no matter whether the latter goes back for it afterwards or not.

Between the damage wrought by the forest fires, his extensive improvements, his efforts to furnish Indians with work in preference to whites, the strictness with which the agent has held him up to every essential letter of his contract, and the high price he pays for the best timber—about twice the market figure of to-day—Mr. Stearns's contract has been thus far a pretty serious burden rather than a profit. According to his own figures, he has lost about \$25,000 since entering the reservation; his one hope of clearing himself or coming out ahead on the whole operation rests upon the probability that business conditions will improve within the next few years.

Indian labor, even among members of the race as far advanced in civilization as these Chippewas, is a very uncertain commodity. An Indian hires out, is assigned to a place of some responsibility in a sawmill—one, perhaps, where his presence is required uninterruptingly to prevent the machinery from clogging—and works two

or three days to the reasonable satisfaction of his employer. The next morning the whistle blows as usual, but the Indian is not there, neither has he sent anyone in his stead, nor even so much as a message to explain his absence. The mill is therefore either crippled temporarily in capacity or possibly forced to remain at a full stop till a substitute for the missing laborer can be found. Mr. Stearns and his associate at Bad River, Mr. Baker, appear to have been very considerate and charitable in their dealings with this class of Indian shortcomings; yet complaints had come to me that certain members of the band had not been given all that the general contract called for.

Sifted down, these complaints made a severe draft upon the patience of the investigator. For example, one mixed blood assured me that he had been refused work by the contractor without excuse, and that he had lost other work by trusting to the contractor's promises. I lost no time in getting at the facts, which I found to be as follows: The man had applied for work and been told by the foreman that the mill was full at the moment, but that he could have the next vacancy if he wanted it; the man then pointed off in a certain direction and said: "When you want me, my house is over there." After a little a vacancy did occur, and the foreman took the first applicant who presented himself. My complainant felt aggrieved because, on the strength of his oral remark to the foreman, he had not been sent for. When asked whether he had given the foreman any written memorandum, or entered his name on a list of applicants, or even presented himself at the mill after the first interview, he admitted that he had not, but demanded in a lordly way to know whether the contractor was not bound, under the terms of his contract, to hunt him up instead of waiting for him to come again. It also appeared that he had not lost anything by not obtaining work at the mill, as his labor in another field had been well utilized. His only object in making the complaint seemed to be a certain satisfaction in putting the contractor in the wrong. This taste for fault-finding I found to lie at the seat of nearly all the complaints here. It is hard to make the Indians understand that if they would spend in trying to help the contractor carry out his contracts the same time which they now spend in seeking means to vent their general distrust of him, they would all be better off. Not a little of the bad spirit shown here and there is undoubtedly the wanton work of the mixed bloods who used to rule the reservation and who felt humiliated when the present agent insisted upon protecting the full bloods from their ill advice as well as from the rapacity of the white outsiders.

Mr. Stearns is the only licensed trader on this reservation, though he has a few Indian competitors on a small scale. At his store, which I am bound to say is notable for its display of useful goods as distinguished from the ornamental trinkets so prominent in the stocks carried by many traders, the Indians are given credit for \$5 a month each. They are furnished with coupon books, each coupon being equivalent to so many cents. This saves much bookkeeping, and by reducing every transaction ostensibly to a cash basis, does away with numberless disputes liable to arise under the ordinary credit system. Prices, which are conspicuously posted in the store, printed in both the Chippewa and the English languages, average somewhat higher than current retail prices in Ashland. The necessities of life, however, are sold so close to the market as to afford no ground for complaint, particularly as the whites who trade at the store are charged precisely the same as the Indians. At the end of each year each Indian who has received credit in the manner here indicated gives to the storekeeper a written order on the agent for the amount advanced to him in coupons; and, as the coupon books are nontransferable, the thrifty but generous Indian is not placed at the mercy of his shiftless and dishonest brethren.

My visit to Bad River Reservation was primarily for the purpose of ascertaining on the spot the truth or falsity of charges made to me in a loose and unsatisfactory form by a mixed blood named Antoine Denomie against the agent and the contractor. Denomie converses well, writes a pretty good letter, and generally impresses favorably those white people whom he meets. He is bright enough and well enough educated to enable him to make a very good living if he would devote his attention to that end and lay aside for a time his overweening ambition for leadership. The chief source of Lieutenant Mercer's trouble with him seems to have been an excusable mistake in reading his character. When Mercer took charge of the agency he found Denomie the principal young man at Bad River. Impressed by his appearance of intelligence and sincerity, the agent confided in him and counseled with him about various matters on which he was himself only meagerly informed. He presently discovered that Denomie, instead of being a leader among his people by general acceptance, was the head of a faction, and that it was sometimes dangerous to take his advice. As soon as the agent gave signs of having a mind of his own and a disposition to manage the agency without constituting Denomie vice-regent, Denomie manifested his displeasure by beginning to agitate for the agent's removal.

The agent appears to have shown a good deal of patience in dealing with Denomie,

who, on his part, obviously mistook each act of charity for a confession of weakness, and plied his agitation all the more vigorously in consequence. The crisis came when Denomie charged him, in a manner to be described later, with dishonor, and Mercer demanded of the Department of the Interior a thorough investigation. The inquiry was conducted in open council by Inspector J. G. Wright, one of the most competent and experienced men in the service, and the stenographic report of the testimony taken at the four days' sessions was ready for my perusal when I reached the agency. I not only went over this, but privately interrogated the leading complainants and witnesses. I found that due notice of the council had been sent to all parts of the reservation, and that the agent, so far from putting any obstacles in the way of the fullest freedom of speech on the part of the Indians, had encouraged all who were aggrieved to come forward and speak, as he wanted to heal, once for all, the internal dissensions which had kept the band stirred up so long.

Antoine Denomie was not present. He had been removed from the reservation some months before by orders of the Department as an incorrigible mischief-maker, and was understood to be employed in Minnesota. Notice of the council was sent to his address, however, and the agent was willing that he should return for the purpose of appearing as a witness; but he did not avail himself of the privilege. The immediate cause of his exile was a dispatch sent by him to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, complaining that there were wrongdoings on the reservation which the agent would not take up and rectify. Not only was this dispatch not shown to the agent before it was sent, nor any intimation given him that it had been written, but the statement it contained was false, as shown by the testimony of leading witnesses. The agent could not have refused to probe the subjects of complaint, since no one had asked him to and he knew nothing about them. Antoine had organized a committee of Indians to lead the attack upon the agent, and they had sent word to Mercer to come down to see them at Bad River, instead of going themselves to see him at the agency, only 6 miles away, as is customary in such cases. Because, ignorant of the nature of their business with him, he did not leave all his other business to go to the committee, the committee scorned to go to him, and telegraphed to the Commissioner as described. The agent first learned of the dispatch when the Department sent him a copy of it with a demand for an explanation. As the last of a long series of petty annoyances, this assault upon his honesty of purposes exhausted Mercer's forbearance and he sent to Washington for approval an order for the removal of Antoine, accompanying it with a plain statement that his own usefulness would be at an end if this man were permitted to continue his mischief-making. Meanwhile he had called upon Antoine to make good the charge contained in the telegram, but Antoine had responded that the committee was not ready yet. His telegram had been sent in February; it was March when he answered that he was not ready. But between the two dates his committee had sent to Washington a paper containing sixteen separate and detailed charges against the agent and contractor. It was to investigate these that Mr. Wright had been ordered to Lapointe.

Most of the testimony was of the sort so trying to the honest seeker after facts. The witness on the stand would admit that he did not know anything about the subject in hand, but that he had "heard," or "been told"—he could not say positively by whom—that such and such things were so and so. The sum of the evidence showed that the charges were made for the most part out of whole cloth, or rested on some pitifully trivial basis and contained only a half truth. As an example of the latter class it will suffice to cite a charge of illegal timber cutting brought against the contractor. The contractor had already acknowledged his technical faults and made good all the amounts involved, which were very small indeed. In one instance the cutting had been accidentally done, the subcontractor having begun work on an allotment for which no contract had been made, before discovering that he had transgressed an indistinct line of boundary; in another case some boom sticks, to the value of \$6 or \$7, had been cut without authority.

Another complaint, equally typical, was that the contractor sometimes required Indians to accept store coupons where actual cash was called for by his bargain. The most intelligent Indian whom I questioned on that point and whose own case had been cited to me as illustrative, was a carpenter by trade. In response to my questioning, he said that the storekeeper had offered him a job to make some repairs, a part of the consideration being that he should take his pay in coupons instead of cash. This Indian, I may say parenthetically, spoke English so well that I was able to hold my conversation with him without the aid of an interpreter, but I took the precaution to have an interpreter present to make clear any points which he might not fully grasp. I asked him if he had understood perfectly the terms of his agreement to accept coupons in payment. He answered that he had. I asked if all the coupons promised him had been paid him. He answered yes—that he had no complaints to make on that score. "Then," said I, "in what respects did the storekeeper fail to carry out his agreement with you?" He answered that the agreement had been fully carried out. And finally it came out that what he objected to was

the storekeeper's having requested him originally to accept coupons instead of cash. "But," said I, "you were not required to do the job unless you wished to?" "No," he answered. "And you accepted it willingly?" I added. "Yes," said he, "but the storekeeper ought not to have asked me to take coupons." Upon this ground alone his entire complaint was based; and the two examples I have given fairly describe the general character of the evidence produced in support of the long array of charges. The men who signed the memorial to Washington admitted to me that the investigation had been fair, that the testimony had not borne out the charges as made, and that they were sorry they had been drawn into so bad a business. It also appeared that the agent had on every possible occasion reminded the Indians that he was always ready to hear and investigate their complaints; that for anything they wanted changed they were to apply to him, with full assurance that he would give the matter his earnest and unbiased consideration; and that, even if they wanted a change of agents, he would cheerfully submit their petition if they would bring it to him. All he wanted was to be treated frankly and aboveboard, and not stabbed in the dark.

The troubles at Lac du Flambeau proved to be closely kindred to those at Bad River, a mixed-blood woman, Mrs. Mary J. Johnson, playing in the former place the same part that Denomie did at the latter. At Lac du Flambeau the sawmill plant is still larger and finer than at Bad River, and is run on the same general lines. It is in charge of an associate of Mr. Stearns, named Herrick, and most of the local discord seems to have arisen partly from Mrs. Johnson's self-importance, and partly from Herrick's lack of tact in dealing with a woman of her stamp. Herrick is a kind-hearted man with his business instinct normally developed, an impulsive and often rather tart manner of speech, and a lack of experience in dealing with people of a different race from his own. He came to the reservation with a perfectly justifiable expectation of making money out of his business venture. I failed to discover where he had willfully taken any advantage of the Indians, but he showed in every word and act a rather impracticable disposition to hold the Indians under the contract to the same account as he would white men of the same class.

Mrs. Johnson, who has taken upon herself the duty of righting what she fancies to be the wrongs suffered by her people, is suspicious by nature, aggressive, persistent, sharp of tongue, and has a mania for letter-writing. She had declared under her own signature, in a note sent to me, her intention to stay on the reservation "to fight the agent." In the pursuit of her self-appointed task she had taken up the petty gossip which floated about the reservation and treated it as if every fireside story were a well-attested fact. It did not appear that in any case she had given either the agent or the contractor an opportunity to explain to her a transaction which she did not understand, but had jumped to the conclusion that these men must be engaged in wrongdoing and deserving of punishment. In connection with a very bitter written attack upon the agent, whom she charged in a general way with being a party to all sorts of rascalities, she had given me a list of Indian witnesses, most of them relatives of hers. I sent for all of them, and of those who responded I questioned several. One of these, and perhaps the most intelligent, I consulted privately, encouraging him in every way to make a clean breast of whatever was amiss, pledging him protection from any adverse consequences of his telling me the whole truth; but he assured me that he knew of no wrongdoing on the part of the agent or the contractor. He said that the Indians had under some past agents undoubtedly been victimized by whites with whom they had had dealings, the agents being either powerless or unwilling to defend them, and this had naturally made them suspicious of every white man who came among them. But he declared that the present agent had been the best friend the Indians had had; that he had been just and honest in his dealings with them, and had secured to them rights about which a less conscientious officer would not have bothered himself. The contractor had, he believed, lived honestly up to his obligations, and whatever supposed causes of complaint had arisen were probably the result of misunderstandings on the part of the ignorant and suspicious members of the band. He further confided to me before parting that Mrs. Johnson had the reputation of being a mischief-maker, and that the Indians would be better off and more contented if she made her home somewhere else.

Another of Mrs. Johnson's witnesses was her own son-in-law. He had been named by her as being able to prove that, by collusion between the agent and the present contractor, a rival lumbering concern, the Lake Shore Company, which had promised the Indians more money for their timber, had been driven out of the field, and she had cited, as an illustration of the malignant tactics of the conspirators, that her brother, James Scott, had been put off the reservation because he had stood up for the rights of the Indians to make contracts with whom they pleased. When asked whether the rival contractors were still making a fight for recognition, she said that she understood that they had been bought off by a gift of \$80,000 from the present contractor. As a matter of fact, if Mrs. Johnson had taken the trouble to consult

the agent, he would have read to her correspondence showing that the rival concern had voluntarily withdrawn from the contest because he had insisted on putting it under the same restrictions which he had imposed upon the successful competitor. I also interrogated Mr. Stearns, in Mrs. Johnson's presence, as to whether any consideration had been paid to the Lake Shore Company to induce it to withdraw, and he indignantly denied the story. To cap the climax, I asked Mrs. Johnson's son-in-law, already mentioned, what he knew of Scott's efforts in behalf of the Lake Shore Company, and he answered that, from what Scott had told him, he understood that he (Scott) was in the pay of the Lake Shore Company in trying to stir the Indians up in its interests. I turned to Mrs. Johnson and asked what she had to say to this testimony from her own witness, and her only answer was that she did not believe him. I then asked her whether she would believe him under oath, and she answered that she would not. When I demanded to know why she had offered me a witness in whose veracity she had no faith, she was disposed to treat the matter jocosely, saying that, although he had married into her family, she was not very well acquainted with him.

Another of Mrs. Johnson's witnesses was Charles Wildcat, one of a number of Indians who, she said, had been lured into contracting with Stearns without knowing what he was doing. It appeared from Wildcat's statement that, although he had only imperfectly understood his contract at the start, he was satisfied with it and had no complaint to make.

In response to my inquiry how I was to get at any facts against the agent or the contractor if her witnesses would not substantiate her charges, Mrs. Johnson answered, in an airy way, that I could get all the evidence I wanted if I would question the Indians generally. Since the Indians on this reservation number nearly 800, I tried to point out to her the folly of assuming that I could go on such a search, especially as she, who pretended to know whereof she spoke, had so far misled me.

Inspector Wright, who had, in an earlier council with this same band, earnestly urged anyone to step forward who had a complaint to make, now came to my support and wanted to know why Mrs. Johnson and her alleged multitude of witnesses had not responded to his invitation. She made some lame and shuffling excuse to the effect that the Indians were not sure that he was really an inspector. Neither she nor they, she admitted, had asked to see his credentials, or taken any other means to satisfy themselves as to his status.

In my private interview with Mrs. Johnson she repeated orally some of the statements she had made in her letters, but with sufficient variation of detail to indicate, to one experienced in handling witnesses, that she had rehearsed the narrative of her grievances too often for strict accuracy. However, I took pains to get at those particular points on which she could not fail to have full personal knowledge, whether her recital of them were absolutely correct or not. For example, she assured me that Herrick had refused, in violation of contract, to give work to her and one of her boys. "Have you asked him in a proper manner?" I inquired. "Yes," she answered; "but we met on the road the other day and had some words, and he then said that neither I nor any of my children should have work on this reservation." "Did you complain to the agent of this?" "Oh, that would not do any good. He stands in with the contractors. Besides, Herrick said he didn't care for the agent or anybody else—he had the power on this reservation to do what he pleased."

Later inquiry convinced me that some such conversation had actually taken place, possibly not in the exact words quoted here, but conveying substantially the same ideas. It is one of Mr. Herrick's most serious faults that he regards it as necessary to "talk back," exchange threat for threat, and have the last word whenever he indulges in a petty altercation with an Indian or anybody else. Words, however, are one thing and acts another, and Mrs. Johnson's sincerity as an accuser may be pretty fairly gauged by the facts that at the very time she was telling me this story she was doing the work and drawing the pay of cook at a boarding house where Mr. Herrick's influence had procured her employment, and that the son to whom she referred could have got work at the mill if he had been willing to give up what he regarded as a better job elsewhere. Discovering that it would be a mere waste of time to attempt to follow her further in her mazy course as a prosecutor, I contented myself with arranging for a further council by Mr. Wright, to which every possible witness who could be reached by the inspector, the agent, or Mrs. Johnson herself should be urged to come. On a second visit to the agency I ascertained the result of this inquiry, which amounted to as little as all the rest.

In my presence the agent, in the most kindly manner, made a final appeal to Mrs. Johnson to wipe out the past, begin afresh, and give him from that time forward an opportunity to explain to her anything to which she took exception. He also reminded her of a rule of the Indian Office that all communications concerning agency affairs should be shown first to the agent, and warned her that henceforth she must not write letters of complaint, either in her own behalf or in that of any of the Indians over whom she had assumed guardianship, without first making an

effort to ascertain the real facts. I have since learned that her old thirst for accusatory letter writing came here again soon afterwards with too much force to be resisted, and as a consequence the Department ordered her removal from the reservation. With her departure it is probable that peace has come to stay for awhile, as the Indians generally seem well disposed when the chronic agitators let them alone.

Before leaving the consideration of La Pointe Agency, I wish to record a few general observations.

It is plain, from a comparison between the conditions prevailing at La Pointe before Mercer went there and those which now prevail, that an army officer of kind heart but firm character is the best man for the present at that agency. But it would be of great advantage to give him a junior officer as an assistant. The reservations under his jurisdiction are so many and so widely scattered that it is impossible for one man to do the necessary traveling among them and at the same time manage executive business at headquarters. With these Indians in their present state of civilization, it is most desirable that the local administration should be satisfactory in quantity as well as quality.

As the allotments at Bad River were made at several different times; as some of the work was done in a slipshod and ineffective manner; as many of the Indians did not know where their allotments were in time to take advantage of lumbering contracts offered them before the fire; and as the full value of their timber resources was either not understood or wittingly ignored by the earlier allotting agents, it seems only fair that those Indians who did not receive timber allotments, or who were cut out of the benefit of them in any way, should be given fresh allotments so as to put the whole band upon an even footing. This work need not involve any extra expense worth considering. Knowing what is required, the agent could undoubtedly perform the bulk of the work himself, with the assistance of his employees and some of the more intelligent Indians, with occasionally the addition of a practical surveyor to run certain doubtful lines anew and straighten others. There is enough unallotted tribal land containing timber to enable such a revision to be made without injustice to any interest.

The situation of the school at Lac du Flambeau is ideal. Projected against a background of fine old pines and facing a picturesque lake, its beauty can hardly fail to impress the minds of the pupils and remain a delightful memory through all their lives. It has been Lieutenant Mercer's policy, on all his reservations, to encourage the Indians to send their children to the local white schools wherever they are near enough to admit of it. But there are no white schools at Lac du Flambeau. He has therefore procured this establishment, which serves the double purpose of day and boarding school. The children come there from their cabin homes, often ragged, dirty, and ill fed. They are allowed to go home every Sunday, and when the parents see them clean, neatly clad, plump, and happy, the sight undoubtedly has a most stimulating and salutary effect. Up to this time there has been no attempt at compulsory education on the reservation. The first idea has been to win over the best members of the band and make them friendly to the school. In another year, probably, attendance will begin to be enforced.

The Red Cliff Reservation, a third member of La Pointe Agency group, is about 5 miles from Bayfield, a station 24 miles by rail from Ashland. It contains 191 Indians, a particularly industrious and deserving lot of people. Work on the reservation is done under the direction of a farmer, himself a mixed blood. A good many of the Red Cliff Indians, however, obtain their chief employment at the Bayfield sawmills, and many others have until recently earned a fair subsistence by fishing with nets in the bay along the border of their reservation. Their fish they would pack and ship in kegs to market, working on a cooperative system. Now the State of Wisconsin has adopted laws which forbid their net fishery, although the treaty of 1854 between their tribe and the United States Government guarantees them this privilege. They can not understand the conflict of State laws with Federal treaties, and still consider themselves entitled to fish, though they have made no attempt to assert their rights aggressively since some of the fishermen were arrested by the State authorities. They have another resource, which would become available if they could have their land allotted to them: Their forests are highly valuable. For several years a plan of allotment for these Indians has hung fire, though neither they nor their agent know what causes the hitch.

All the preliminaries to allotment were carried out, and the papers were submitted to the Department for approval, and at that time outside parties were ready to step in on the same terms that Stearns entered the Bad River and Lac du Flambeau reservations and set up sawmills. One of the competitors offered to pay as high as \$5 a thousand for the best live timber. It is doubtful whether, after all this delay and the stagnation of the lumber market, any contractor would be willing to give such prices now. The delay has operated in another way still to the disadvantage of the Indians. The timber, which has reached its best estate when the allotment plan was submitted, has undoubtedly deteriorated somewhat by standing, so that

even at the present low range of prices the Indians might not get the top market figures. Nevertheless, it being now too late to rectify what was undoubtedly an error of judgment on the part either of the Department or of the President, the thing to do is to make the best of matters as they stand, hasten the approval of the allotment, and give the agent authority to make the most advantageous contracts he can. The Indians themselves are anxious for this, and they are in a much better condition for allotment than many of the tribes elsewhere who have had their lands given them in severalty. Meanwhile, the forest fires which inflicted such damage at Bad River are a constant reminder of the possible disaster which may overtake the Red Cliff timber fields at any time.

Unless something is done to increase their opportunities for self-support in the place of their abrogated fishing privileges, the Government will undoubtedly be obliged to help these poor people through the coming winter with charity, which is, above all things, undesirable in the case of so sturdy and self-respecting a band.

One of the most interesting experiences of my summer tour was a visit to the Indian Territory, where the Federal Government is now feeling its way, through the agency of the Dawes Commission, to the introduction of law and order to supplant chaos. This Territory, with its broad sweeps of fertile farming land, its thrifty forests, and its partly explored mineral deposits, has all the superficial conditions of prosperity. But the absence of organized justice, with full protection for life, health, and property, have kept it in the background of civilization as compared even with New Mexico, Arizona, or its neighbor Oklahoma. The rule of the barons in feudal times, or the present crude notion of popular rights prevailing in western Asia or northern Africa, would furnish the closest parallel to the state of things which has retarded all enterprise and progress in the Indian Territory, and which is going steadily from bad to worse as the population increases and the opportunities for fraud and speculation expand. Other pens have been able to do more justice to the general situation than mine possibly could. I shall therefore record here only my satisfaction with what I saw of the operations of the Dawes Commission. This Commission is working under serious embarrassments.

The squaw men and mixed bloods who now control about everything that is worth controlling in the Territory are bitterly opposed, of course, to any interference by a stronger power, which means a distribution of assets and the apportionment of a proper share of the good things to the poor and helpless full bloods. They have made it their business, therefore, to misrepresent to the full bloods the purpose of the Commission and of the United States Government. The ignorant victims are given to understand that the Commission is aiming to take away all the Indians' land and give it to the whites, instead of laying a basis for stripping both white and Indian usurpers of their ill-gotten possessions and giving them back to the rank and file of the tribes to whom they belong. Even the sworn officers of the United States Government in the Territory do not, as a rule, manifest any disposition to aid or encourage the Commission, and some actually appear to be throwing needless obstacles in the way of its work. There is a motive of self-interest behind this indifference or hostility, since the allotment of lands in severalty and the institution of a stable and responsible local government would be the first steps toward the subsidence of Federal authority in the Territory. Add to these adverse influences on the spot the widespread misapprehension which prevails in the Northern and Eastern States as to the treaties with the civilized tribes and the alleged design of the Government to override them, and we have a combination against which it is hard to make fair headway.

The Commission is doing well, however, in spite of everything. The spirit in which it attacks its work, giving the benefit of every doubt in race controversies to the Indian, but requiring the white man to demonstrate his claim beyond a shadow of question, is as commendable as it is uncommon. Its unwearying patience in listening to arguments on all sides, its habit of setting no limits on its working hours, and its contempt for creature comforts when long journeys are to be made or business is anywhere in sight, are in refreshing contrast to the fanciful pictures drawn in so many minds of an "official junket" with luxurious surroundings and discretionary labors. Considerations of economy require its members to do a great deal of routine work which ought to be turned over to clerical assistants. The Commission had, when I was with it, only one clerk, who was stenographer and typewriter, bookkeeper, correspondent, custodian of files, and general utility man. He was a rapid and intelligent worker, and, by dint of early rising and sitting up till midnight or later, he contrived to get through a long day's task. And this was in spite of the individual industry of his chiefs. In almost any private calling the duties he performed would be divided between two men of average capacity.

I am radical enough in my own views to regret that, having at its command so competent and high-minded a group of officers as the members of this Commission, the Government did not enlarge their powers. The Commission is limited by existing law to hearing and deciding applications for admission to the rolls of tribal

citizenship, but the present rolls, as far as they go, are confirmed. There is the best reason for believing that these rolls are monuments of the grossest fraud and corruption. They ought, in the interest of ordinary justice, to be thoroughly sifted and purged, and the Dawes Commission would be a much safer body to handle such a piece of work than some other commissions which may be set at tasks in the Territory later.

From the Indian Territory I passed up into Kansas, and paid a long-promised visit to Haskell Institute, at Lawrence. Technically, it was vacation season at the school, but so many of the pupils had remained that I had a pretty fair opportunity to judge of the condition of things there. Mr. Swett, the superintendent, impressed me as a man of much force of character, with a genius for developing the industrial side of the institution. He seems to be an effective organizer, and to have a quick eye for discovering defects in the equipment and methods of the school, and a ready apprehension of the means of supplying shortcomings. On every side are evidences of his skill in applying whatever he has at hand to the needs of the moment, his inventive faculty and mechanical training pointing the way to the accomplishment of an end with the smallest possible expense to the Government. The very simple device, for example, of a three-shelf table on wheels, in use in the dining room, enables the food to be brought in from the kitchen much faster than under the old system of hand service; and when one meal is finished, the use of this apparatus for clearing away and washing the dishes, and setting the table afresh for the next meal, enables the whole task to be accomplished in a half hour, saving time which can be turned to more profitable uses. Yet this ingenious bit of furniture cost only a couple of dollars in cash, having been cleverly worked out of old material. The barns and stables, the farming apparatus, etc., all show signs of being under the management of a man with a gift for labor-saving adaptation.

What I saw here and elsewhere during the summer suggested to my mind the question whether, in connection with the efforts now making through teachers' institutes and the like, to bring about a harmonious cooperative system of work among the Indian schools it would not be wise to supplement the discussion of the higher educational topics with an element of a more homely but eminently practical sort, such as an exchange of photographs and explanatory notes, showing the improvements the several superintendents have worked out of meager material. Some of the most successful superintendents are not "school men" in the ordinary sense, but have drifted into this work from other callings where they have gained special knowledge which is brought into effective play in their new occupation. One of them, who had formerly been an apothecary, would have some particularly good ideas for the arrangement of the school dispensary; another, who had learned the building trade, would have devised means of utilizing odd bits of space which the architect had ignored in drawing the plans of the school buildings; a third, who has been a farmer, would have invented some appliances, simple and cheap, to save needless outlays of time and strength. Photography is an art now practiced everywhere, and prints from a negative may be indefinitely multiplied. Recent processes for manifolded typewritten text, also, would make it possible for every school to be placed promptly in possession of descriptions of all the mechanical improvements adopted at every other school in the service. To familiarize the pupils' minds with such devices would serve as a valuable stimulus to their own inventive faculties. Possibly some system of this sort is already in progress; if so, I happen to have missed contact with it.

Haskell has so fine a plant as to excite one's wonder that it is not finer still. Take for example the chapel, where 500 children are crowded into a space proper for about 300. It should be replaced by a larger one, and the present room cut up into two or three for school purposes. The schoolrooms in use now are so full that they can not be supplied with sufficient fresh air for the children in them. Mr. Swett has tried to make good the lack of space by finishing off two schoolrooms above the harness shop and laundry, and by cutting up the cellar of the main school building so as to make four class rooms of it. But these extensions, while they may serve to bridge over an interval of special stress, are not fit for permanent use. A Congress which can find abundant excuses for spending money on less important things ought to be ashamed to pass over the obvious needs of so splendid an institution as this. How much its work and its advantages are appreciated among the Indians, who have enjoyed the latter, is shown by the way that young men come here from tribes whose hostility to the whole Government scheme of education is intense and go back as earnest and successful propagandists.

A touching case came under my notice at Haskell—that of Willie Carver, a poor and ignorant Indian boy, who had lost both father and mother and had hired out as a farm laborer in Arkansas at \$8 a month. The fame of Haskell reached his ears and inspired him to save all he possibly could from his scanty wages till he thought he had enough to carry him to Lawrence. Then he bade farewell to the farm and started for school. His money gave out while he had still 40 miles to make, so he walked

the remaining distance, and appeared at the doors of the institute, ragged and travel stained, but full of resolve to get an education at any cost. Some technical difficulty obscured his chances of admission at first, but he pleaded so earnestly against being sent away that the superintendent had not the heart to raise any further objection. He has proved one of the most satisfactory pupils ever admitted. In scholarship he is still below the normal standing of a lad of his years, but he has no false shame on this score, and applies himself in his classes with the younger children as if he were competing with his peers for a great prize. In attention to all his other duties he is a model boy, and everyone about the institution has a good word for him. I am glad to add that, although a marked pupil, he bears himself with a modesty commensurate with the plucky spirit he has shown in making his way thus far.

At Haskell the familiar question as to the policy of paying boys for their work comes conspicuously to the front. Some years ago, I am informed, there was a pay roll of about \$500 a month, which has since been cut off in consonance with the general programme of retrenchment in the Indian school service. The only paid places still open to the boys are those of eight sergeants, commanding a salary of \$5 a month each. There are always thirty or forty boys on the waiting list, seeking appointments to these positions. The theory on which the old pay roll was abolished was that a boy ought to be glad to give such work as he is capable of doing in exchange for the benefits of an education. This is true; but young Indians are not unlike young whites in their failure sometimes to measure at its full value all that is done for their future good. About 300 children remained in school this summer instead of going home for vacation; 200 of these were old enough and strong enough to be usefully employed. By tactful management, the superintendent did get considerable work from them on the school farm, although it was supposed to be their play spell. How much more vigorously they would have worked, and with how much more benefit to themselves from the point of view both of physical training and of lessons in the value of money, if they could have had, say, 10 cents for each full day's labor, is a question worth considering.

Submitting the foregoing to the Board of Indian Commissioners, I am, dear sir, most respectfully, yours,

FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

Hon. E. WHITTLESEY,

Secretary Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.

REPORT OF HON. PHILIP C. GARRETT.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 16, 1897.*

DEAR SIR: I had been under appointment from the Interior Department about sixteen months when I at last received instructions to proceed with negotiations for the purchase of the Ogden Land Company's claim against the Seneca lands in New York State. After obtaining from the representatives of the Ogden Company, therefore, the lowest price at which they would sell their claim, I proceeded, on the 23d of November last, to negotiate with the Seneca tribe on what terms they would consent to the purchase of this claim by the Government, in accordance with my instructions. As this appeared to be a fitting opportunity to make the investigation directed by this Board, I made arrangements, as I thought, with my colleague on the committee, Mr. Darwin R. James, to meet me at Olean for this purpose. He did not appear, however, nor did I hear anything from him, and as my own time was very fully occupied with the business of the special commission, and I had to return to Philadelphia by a certain day on important business of another kind, I was unable to make as thorough an investigation as I hoped of the charges of corruption against the president, council, and courts of the Seneca Nation.

I may as well say at the outset of this report that, owing to the exorbitant and unyielding demands of the representatives of the Ogden Land Company, and the absolute unwillingness of the Indians to recognize their claim in any way, my mission in that regard has hitherto been completely unsuccessful. This unbending attitude of the Indians was a surprise to me.

I made my headquarters at Olean, both because it was important to have frequent access to the agent, who was there, and because it is off the reservations, and therefore more exempt from interested interviews and observations than Salamanca and other places. From here it was easy to reach any part of either reservation.

Thinking it desirable to explain to the people of the tribe directly and not only through their leaders, the advantage of removing this claim from their title, arrangements were made for two general councils, one on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and the other on the Alleghany. A contretemps occurred as to the former, which was appointed to be held in the Presbyterian church, near the Thomas Orphan Asylum.

At the last moment, when the people had begun to assemble and it was quite too late to notify them, the use of the church was withdrawn, and there was nothing to do but move on, some 3 miles beyond, to the council house among the pagan and obstructionist Indians. The council was two or three hours late in gathering, but a considerable number assembled, and, through an interpreter, a good opportunity was given to state the case for the Government. The discussion that followed was carried on in the Seneca language, which they declined to interpret, some of the speeches being very earnest and delivered with apparent eloquence and much grace and vanity of gesticulation. This was on Thanksgiving Day.

The second council was held at Cold Spring, on the Alleghany Reservation, on the following Saturday. This was a cold, snowy day, and the ground was very wet and muddy and the council house very inaccessible. The railroad train landed us in the open air on the opposite side of the Alleghany River, with no station, shed, or even platform, and we proceeded to walk through the mud, some quarter of a mile, to the wire ferry at the river bank. On arriving there we found the wire rope was broken and there was no ferry in operation. Several Indians appeared on the opposite bank and began bailing a boat that lay on the shore, but presently desisted, calling out that the boat leaked. The river was swollen with the rains, and a council began to look doubtful, until, by some mysterious signal, three Indians appeared on our side of the river and produced two perilously frail skiffs, on which we were at last successfully poled to the other shore. Much time was then consumed in kindling fires in the council room, when the same role was performed as at the previous council. The president and sixteen councilors were the voting body even at these general councils. They produced alleged tallies of votes by the people on the questions submitted, and these votes were declared to be overwhelmingly against any proposition to buy the Ogden land claim or recognize it, but there was no possibility of verification of the accuracy of the popular vote. This decision was confirmed at a subsequent meeting of their representative body, held at Shongo, when a reconsideration and postponement was moved and lost.

There seems to be no way of reaching the people themselves. Their government is an oligarchy, and bribery to carry elections in their own favor is freely charged against the president and members of the council of sixteen. The courts are also charged with being corrupt. These allegations are partly sworn to in affidavits now in my possession. But I would say, in this connection, that my inquiries as to the character of the parties who sent me these have not resulted very satisfactorily, and that the relation of their courts to the law of the State on the one hand, and to public opinion among the Senecas on the other, is probably such as to permit false swearing with impunity. In fact, it is nearly impossible to rectify any of the serious abuses now existing in the tribe without breaking up the reservations and bringing the Indians under State laws; and this, I am clear, ought to be done. There is a strong minority, indeed, among them who are much discontented with their tribal government, and favor the division of lands. And this is a sufficient warrant for the passage of a law by Congress allowing those who so desire to receive their allotments.

One ground of discontent is the fact that although a considerable sum is annually received by the governing body and treasurer for the rentals of their land, not a dollar of it reaches the pockets of the Indians, and no account is published of its disposal for the benefit of the members of the tribe.

At the two general councils which I invited, and at the meeting of the council of sixteen at Shongo, there were a number of men present, representing the Standard and other large oil companies, who sought to obtain leases of the Alleghany lands, which there was good reason to believe contained oil. Cigars were distributed among the Indians, and there were evidences of manipulation going on. I have since been informed that the council of sixteen have been heavily bribed personally to award a lease which is not to the advantage of the tribe and refuse other propositions which would have accrued to their benefit, and that a lease has been or is to be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his ratification in furtherance of this scheme.

The worst sort of politics appears to prevail. Factional quarrels are common, and if I am rightly informed, justice is hard to obtain when the aggrieved party can not back his claim with money. They are fond of meeting in council and talking the day away around the "council fire," and some are adepts at public speaking. This easy, lazy life they are averse to seeing disturbed by anything that will place them under the white man's laws and customs. Another evil which they do not care to part with is the easy relation of the sexes. A father recently sent for his daughter to the Tunesassa school, wishing to marry her to a young Indian. She was for a while indisposed to accept the match which her father had made for her; but yielding, went to live with the man, remaining with him, however, only about a month, when she went where she pleased. Popular opinion favoring these unregulated relations, no obligation of law can be enforced, even one requiring legal divorce before forming a new connection.

And yet these Indians, if not averaging as high in civilization as the average of white men, average nearly as high as the class who must rule in this country, the large mechanic and laboring class, with limited education. Some of them are receiving a liberal schooling. All of them, perhaps, have the opportunity to learn. Most of them, I have reason to believe, understand English, although they affect not to understand it. At one of the councils where an interpreter was considered necessary for my formal address to them, an Indian in the course of the discussion in their own language addressed a number of questions to me in English, and upon being asked if an interpreter was not necessary (none being at hand at that moment), he replied, "They will understand you." In fact, they are every way as ripe for citizenship as a group of Indians living under their own laws and customs will ever become. It is argued by some that if they receive their lands in severalty, they will become a prey to the cupidity of white men. So would any humble owners of so fair a heritage. They have a beautiful and fertile country. Even in winter, the scenery along the valley of the Alleghany is extremely attractive, and bespeaks an alluvial soil, and a location that invites settlement. The same is more or less true on the Cattaraugus Reservation. A level wooded mesa lies along the Cattaraugus Valley which has the appearance of a high alluvium, from which the surrounding country has been cut away by an ancient outlet of Lake Erie. Very good farming is done there and excellent model farms are carried on by the Thomas Orphan Asylum near Versailles and the Friends' school at Tunesassa on the south. Why such a set of people should be left free to live as a distinct nation, under separate laws, in a country like ours, it is difficult to conceive.

Congress should resolutely set its face against any extortionate effort to wrest money from these Indians in payments for a claim which they decline to recognize. But that body should proceed to enact a law permitting the allotment of their lands to such of the nation as wish to own their land separately, and accept citizenship. If the Ogden claim should make it difficult for the individual owners to make a clear title to purchasers, it may be no disadvantage to them to be prevented from selling it. At all events, they avow themselves willing to "take all risks."

A majority of them, as yet, prefer to remain a separate "nation." But that is hardly a sufficient reason why the United States should continue to permit it. It is an anomaly of anomalies, after a tribe of Indians has become civilized, to recognize them as a separate "nation," an imperium in imperis. We might as properly grant the same privilege to the Russian Jews, the Armenians, or the Chinese.

It is urged that there is not sufficient land to give each person enough to make him comfortable. But how do they live now? A small part of the land is under cultivation; yet the president of the nation boasts that they all live in their own houses and have no tramps. This is probably true, and warrants the belief that they would not be in want if they were given their lands individually. They are a people of great expectations, which never are realized, and it is fortunate for them they are not. Even the constant expectation of great sums from their Kansas land grant, and from the leases at home, is demoralizing, leading them to shirk industry, and giving them a constant appearance of disappointed pride. I fear this condition has been fostered by the romantic effusions of pseudo-philanthropists. Better would it be for them by far if they were poor and settled down to honest toil for self-support.

The schools at Tunesassa and near Lawtons are doing good work for them, which is too much taken for granted, and scarcely appreciated by the Indians, being a gratuitous benefit. I was hospitably received at both schools, one on Thanksgiving Day and the other over the Sabbath, neither, therefore, during school hours. But it was my privilege to learn many valuable facts from my kind friends at both schools, and to enjoy the Friends' meeting for worship with their little band of Indians at the former place. Whether they remain Indians or become citizens, the Senecas are not likely to lose the valuable help of the societies who maintain these schools, nor the devoted and self-sacrificing labors of the missionaries who, from the lamented Asher Wright to Mr. Trippe, have spent themselves for this people.

But if the Indians are willing, as they say, to take all risks arising from their refusal to assent to the purchase of the Ogden Company's claim, I am unable to see any good reason why they should not enjoy all the privileges and immunities of American citizenship as well as be subjected to all of its responsibilities. Then, for such errors as are laid to their charge, they would be amenable to the laws of New York and of the United States.

Yours, very truly,

PHILIP C. GARRETT.

Hon. MERRILL E. GATES,
President Board of Indian Commissioners

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS AT THE FOURTEENTH MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

FIRST SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, *October 14, 1896.*

The fourteenth session of the Mohonk Indian Conference began Wednesday morning, October 14, 1896, assembled at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley.

After morning prayers the conference was called to order by Mr. Smiley, who said that it was a pleasure to welcome so many earnest people who had gathered to discuss the interests of a people who need sympathy and help. He then nominated Dr. Merrill E. Gates as president. Dr. Gates was unanimously elected.

On motion of Mr. Welsh, Mr. Joshua W. Davis and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows were elected secretaries.

On motion of Dr. M. E. Strieby, the following business committee was elected: Dr. W. H. Ward, chairman; Dr. Addison Foster, Philip C. Garrett, Darwin R. James, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Mrs. Anna L. Dawes.

On motion of Mr. James, Mr. Frank Wood was elected treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Garrett, Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. J. W. Davis, and Mrs. I. C. Barrows were elected a publication committee.

Dr. Gates then spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MERRILL E. GATES.

THE INDIAN OF ROMANCE.

The New York papers of last night report as the topic for consideration and discussion at a meeting of one of the brightest women's clubs of that city, a day or two since, "The novels of Fenimore Cooper." As I saw the item this morning I was reminded of a morning in the south of France nearly twenty years ago which impressed upon me vividly the prominent place which Fenimore Cooper's North American Indian has held in the European conception of America. On the train from Paris to Marseilles I found myself in a compartment with an old Italian priest, amiable, genial of disposition, and persistently inclined toward conversation. He knew no English, he could not speak French, and I tried him in vain with German. As I knew no Italian, conversation seemed likely to prove impracticable. At last we came together through the medium of such Latin as we could both use. The mixture of academic and mediæval Latin in which we sought to exchange ideas for two or three hours was much of it in startling violation of the canons of the purist, and even of the rules of the grammarians. It would have made Cicero turn in his grave. Nevertheless, we established a vocabulary of our own, and the genial and interesting old parish priest, after he had put many questions as to American life, turned to the literature of America, and in barbarous Latin asked me, "How true to life is the picture of the Indian in the novels of Fenimore Cooper?" The foremost place in his knowledge of our literature and in his thought of American life was filled by the figures called into being by the author of the "Leather-Stocking Stories."

TO SEE THE INDIAN AS HE IS.

Perhaps our work in the successive sessions of this Mohonk conference might be epitomized in the phrase: Letting go the Indian of romance and learning what the real Indian is and how to help him to intelligent citizenship, to civilization, and to Christianization. We are no longer seriously misled by the romantic ideals of the Indian which those most entertaining novels of Fenimore Cooper made current. I remember, at a dinner party twenty-five years since in the home of my dear and

honored friend, the late Paul Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, son of the great novelist, that a bright society woman, near the opposite end of the table, leaning forward asked our host: "Mr. Cooper, was not an old colored servant in your father's family the original of 'Natty Bumpo,' the 'Leather Stocking' of your father's stories?" "Oh, no," said Mr. Cooper, "'Natty Bumpo' never had any original any more than did my father's Indians. And no one in the world believes in that kind of Indians, except Governor Horatio Seymour and my sister."

When we began to assemble here thirteen years ago, many were still giving expression to views which showed that the Indians of Cooper's novels were the Indians with whom they thought we had to deal. The first step in our work was to awaken in the united East an interest in plans to civilize the Indians and to secure for them their rights. Our second step was the rather painful one of learning to contemplate the Indian as he really is, without the halo of romance on the one hand, and without forgetting, on the other hand, the divine worth of manhood and womanhood, however debased by barbarism and sin.

If our work had ended with the dissipation of the romantic ideal, it would have been utterly unworthy; and if we had attempted to do nothing more than to see the Indian as he really is, we should have been as untrue to the ideals of Christianity and to American citizenship as is the latest French realistic novel. But "disillusionizing" was not the end of our work. Coming to see the Indian as he is, we have also learned to see him in the light of the ideal—in the light of what he may become, what he ought to be and may be as an American citizen and a Christian. These conferences have been dominated by the disposition to see the actual in the light of the ideal. We have been determined to see facts as they are in the light of facts as they ought to be, and to use our united power in the effort to bring about the needful changes.

THE RESERVATION HAD TO GO.

And first we had to learn to see the Indian on the reservation as he really was. I am glad that we can put the reservation in the past tense. The reservation, from which every influence of the virtues of civilization was carefully shut out, while all the damning vices that are the bane of civilized communities found constant access, has been from the beginning a curse to Indians and whites. The reservation was so steeped in iniquity of all kinds, so isolated from all good influence, so contrary to ideals of American citizenship, so utterly destructive of purity in personal life and of all hope of sound and pure family life, that as soon as a conference like ours fairly saw the reservation as it was, with the greatest unanimity and emphasis we were compelled to declare, "The reservation system must be broken up!" And it is not too much to say that these conferences have carried with them the public opinion of the country upon this point.

DANGERS FROM LAND IN SEVERALTY.

Then came the difficulty as to the feasibility and the probable consequences of holding land in severalty. We know how various were the opinions expressed here twelve years ago, and how bitterly opposed to each other were some who maintained certain of these opinions; but out of discussion and experiment has come a consensus of opinion. We are by no means blind to the dangers that threaten the transition period from barbarous reservation life, with its savage communism, to homes upon land held in severalty. But we are of one mind as to the absolute necessity of making all the Indians who have not yet left the reservation, as peacefully as may be, but as rapidly as is safe, pass through this transition period to homes upon land in severalty and to full citizenship in the United States.

HISTORY CROWDED INTO A MOMENT.

It is said that when one is in the act of drowning—and from personal experience I know that it is sometimes true when a sudden accident, like falling from a great height, places one for a supreme moment where he is conscious that within the next few seconds he is likely to be killed—there flashes through the mind a condensation of past consciousness, a sudden gleam of vividly intense remembrance of all one's past. That supreme instant seems to hold before the eye of consciousness a record upon which, in infinitesimal tracery, all the past experience of the life has been written; and, with a foretaste of what it may mean to be set free from limitations of time and space, the soul is suddenly gifted with the power to rush through that long record in an instant of revealing reminiscence which seems to leave nothing unremembered. Incidents and experiences that have not been thought of for years are vividly represented to the mind, and you live through them again in an instant.

TO CIVILIZE THESE RACES IS TO CONDENSE NATURE'S METHODS.

This mental experience seems to have an analogue in the early history of our bodies. The investigations of the biologist, the study of the embryologist into the history of our physical organism, indicates that in the early history of each human organism there is condensed an epitome of the record of its descent through other forms—a brief history of the past of the race.

Those who are most carefully studying the mental development of childhood in the light of these investigations of the biologists believe that important modifications will be made in our methods of education, modifications based upon that condensation of the history of the race in miniature which they think they discern in the natural development of the child. Childhood properly studied recalls not only "trailing clouds of glory," whence it came, but also something of the history of the earlier stages of development through which the race has passed.

Traces of the feelings of the savage are to be found in early boyhood in all healthy children; and the converse of this record of the race, written in the childish organism and experience of the individual, we find ourselves face to face with when we attempt to do for the Indian race in one or two generations what unaided nature by her slower methods takes hundreds of years to do. To transform savages into civilized and enlightened citizens is a process requiring time. Education, Christian training, and the helpful hand of Christian friends may greatly shorten the time which is required for this transformation; but no educational processes, and not even the transforming power of the Christian life, can entirely annihilate or completely and immediately overcome the impulses and tendencies which are directly inherited from ages of savage descent.

PATIENCE AND THE HIGHEST IDEALS.

In our efforts to eradicate and overcome these tendencies we are not to forget or despise the prolonged stages by which nature leads races through such steps of progress; nor are we ever to leave out of account the constant need (if we would shorten the time) of enforcing the higher ideals.

For instance, we must see to it that the interest which just now is widespread in methods of manual training does not lead us to make a "fad" of manual training. General Armstrong used to insist, with fine emphasis, upon "the way to the head and the heart through the trained right hand." But where could we find a nobler example of reliance upon the power of the highest moral and intellectual standards to give dignity and direction to such manual training? With that Christian hero and pioneer in industrial training, the awakening of noble ambitions, the inculcation of the unselfish spirit of service of one's fellow-men—in short, the formation of character—always dominated the conception of industrial training.

That view of industrial training for the Indian or the negro which seeks to limit their intellectual achievements to the lower planes, in order that all may become skilled artisans, and none of them anything more than artisans, is an ignoble conception of even elementary education. General Armstrong himself would have been among the first to denounce that false ideal of education. The way must be opened through the better training of the hand; but for the most capable and the most quickly progressive there must always be the open avenue to the higher education.

POWER OF PROPERTY TO AWAKEN WANTS AND TO LEAD TO HIGHER CIVILIZATION.

We have, to begin with, the absolute need of awakening in the savage Indian broader desires and ampler wants. To bring him out of savagery into citizenship we must make the Indian more intelligently selfish before we can make him unselfishly intelligent. We need to awaken in him wants. In his dull savagery he must be touched by the wings of the divine angel of discontent. Then he begins to look forward, to reach out. The desire for property of his own may become an intense educating force. The wish for a home of his own awakens him to new efforts. Discontent with the tepee and the starving rations of the Indian camp in winter is needed to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers—and trousers with a pocket in them, and with a pocket that aches to be filled with dollars! The most intelligent students of physiological psychology in the training of children tell us that it is a misfortune to make a very little child so absolutely unselfish that he wants to give away everything. Such an unselfish childhood is most unpromising. The person who blindly gives away everything in the mere wish to be smiled upon, and without any consideration of the value of what he gives, is not fitting himself to be a helper of others, but is taking the first steps toward becoming a vague pauper, looking for a readiness on the part of all others to distribute whatever they can lay hands on to all who will smile when they receive it. The truth is, that there can be

no strongly developed personality without the teaching of property—material property, and property in thoughts and convictions that are one's own. By acquiring property, man puts forth his personality and lays hold of matter by his own thought and will. Property has been defined as "objectified will." We all go to school to property, if we use it wisely. No one has a right to the luxury of giving away until he has learned the luxury of earning and possessing. The Saviour's teaching is full of illustrations of the right use of property. I imagine that we shall look back from that larger life which lies before us "on the farther side of the river of death," and shall regard the property we have held and used here, not as in itself an object and an end, but much as those of us who have had the benefit of kindergarten training look back now upon the little prizes and gifts that were put into our hands in the kindergarten classes, things which were of no sort of value or consequence except as out of their use we got training for the larger life, and for the right use of stronger powers.

There is an immense moral training that comes from the use of property. And the Indian has had all that to learn. Like a little child who learns the true delight of giving away only by first earning and possessing what it gives, the Indian must learn that he has no right to give until he has earned, and that he has no right to eat until he has worked for his bread. Our teachers upon the reservations know that frequently lessons in home building and providence for the future of the family which they are laboriously teaching are effaced and counteracted by the old communal instincts and customs which bring half a tribe of kinspeople to settle down at the door of the home when the grain is thrashed or the beef is killed, and to live upon their enterprising kinsman so long as his property will suffice to feed the clan of his kinspeople. We have found it necessary, as one of the first steps in developing a stronger personality in the Indian, to make him responsible for property. Even if he learns its value only by losing it and going without it until he works for more, the educational process has begun. To cease from pauperizing the Indian by feeding him through years of laziness, to instruct him to use property which is legally his, and, by protecting his title, to help him through the dangerous transition period into citizenship, this is the first great step in the education of the race.

IMMERSE THE INDIAN IN CIVILIZATION.

And the second of the lessons which seem to me of greatest value, as we review the outcome of our thirteen conferences at Mohonk, is the "object lesson" which has been taught us by Captain Pratt, through his system of placing out Indian boys and girls in Christian homes. Here they learn by experience and by contact, here they imbibe citizenship and Christianity; and, through living in the families of American citizens, they are taught how to walk alone as citizens. This immersion in citizenship, with such a personal hold by friends upon each young person who is drawn from the reservations as is secured by membership in a civilized and Christian family, is the surest and most rapid method of advancing the civilization of the Indians; and I believe that every young Indian who is taught to hold his own while he stays here in the East, by his example and his influence upon his own people, is worth ten times as much as he would be if he went back to the tribe and the reservation. Let us break up the tribal masses! Let us draft into the East as many as we can persuade to come, and can wisely place among helpful friends. The surest way to learn to speak a language is to live constantly among those who speak that language and no other. The surest way for the Indian to learn the life language of civilization and Christianity is to live daily among civilized Christian people who care for him.

SCHOOLS AND HOMES.

Twelve years ago we had bitterly to lament the lack of schools for the Indians. To-day schools are provided for more than two-thirds of all the Indian children of school age.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

Ten years ago we gave them land and law in the Dawes bill. But there is still that great blot upon our map where is still tried the un-American and unstatesmanlike experiment of the imperium in imperio. This attempt to deal with an Indian tribe on our territory as we would deal with a foreign government has been a mistake from the first. One of the most important questions to come before us in this conference will be, How can the Government of the United States be extended over the Indian Territory?

Part of our study has always been the customs of the Indian, to see him as he has been and as he is. That is practical. "Morals" means "customs." Morals, ethics, are the expression of what we have been accustomed to do. The customs of a people embody their code of morals. And we must build up morality in the Indians; and to do this we must help them to a more intelligent religious life. There has never been a moral people that has not been a religious people. Matthew Arnold's

attempt to define the religious life as "morality touched by emotion" does not answer the need. They need morality touched by life and by Him who is the author of life.

Whether our schools are organized by the missionary boards or under the Government, we have learned that the best results can not be attained unless the work is steadily done in the light that breaks from the source above us, "the light that never was on sea or land." The face of the child must be trained to turn reverently to the face of the Father. Whatever else our work is, it must be Christian work. And it is Christlike work! Let us address ourselves to it with reverent reliance upon Him who "came to seek and to save" the lost.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

[By Gen. E. Whittlesey.]

The year has been a quiet one in Indian affairs. There have been no disturbances, no excitements; but there has been a steady improvement in education and industry among our Indians. The disturbances that troubled us last year at Jacksons Hole in Idaho have been settled by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, a decision that declares that the State laws in reference to game are to be obeyed by Indians as well as white men. This decision of the Supreme Court seems a hardship to the Indians; but there are considerations that may reconcile us to it. One is, when this reliance upon the game of the country for support is broken up, the Indians will be led to turn their attention to the soil and its cultivation as a means of maintenance. Another is that the decision settles the legal status of the Indian, and puts him upon an equality with the white man. That is the principle for which we have contended in this conference, and which you remember was so earnestly and ably advocated by our lamented friend, Judge Abbott.

The condition of affairs in the Indian Territory has not materially improved, but there is a beginning of light even there. It is significant that in the appropriation bill passed last winter, in the appropriation for defraying the expenses of the commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, it is expressly declared "to be the duty of the United States to establish a government in the Indian Territory which will rectify the many inequalities and discriminations now existing in that Territory, and afford needful protection to the lives and property of all citizens and residents thereof." I think that is a gleam of light upon this subject, and we may hope for further legislation. It is also significant that in the late election in the Choctaw country the party in favor of the division of their lands and of United States citizenship was successful. We hope something from that, and that the influence of it may spread among the other tribes in that Territory.

One step of progress has been made during the past year, and that is the extension of the classified civil service over almost every branch of the Indian service. All persons, except those nominated for confirmation by the Senate, are now under the civil-service rules, and it is provided that Indians may be appointed to such positions as they are competent to fill. This recognition of the merit system will certainly lift the standard of the service in every way, and I am sure it makes glad the heart of one who has been in this conference and in public assemblies all over the country advocating this reform and fighting against the spoils system—Herbert Welsh.

The work of education has gone on well, though no great advancement has been made. There is, however, steady improvement under the able superintendency of Dr. Hallmann, backed up by the Commissioner. The number enrolled during the last year in all the Indian schools was 23,393, an increase of 357 over the enrollment of the previous year. The average attendance has been 19,121, an increase of 933 over the attendance of the previous year. In addition to this, 558 Indian children have been placed in public schools in the States and Territories under a contract with the Indian Office. The appropriations for the support of the Indian schools for the current year on which we are now entered amounts to \$2,517,265, so that there is an increase this year over last year of about 22½ per cent. During the three previous years there had been a slight falling off. In addition to this, there is also an appropriation of \$15,000 for matrons, and of \$65,000 for additional farmers. This is really educational work as much as any other. This \$80,000 added to the \$2,517,265 gives us nearly \$2,600,000 for the coming year for the work of education.

The amount set apart for contract schools for the current year, including the appropriations for Hampton and Lincoln, is \$257,928. About half that was devoted to that purpose two years ago. Taking out the appropriations to Hampton and Lincoln, the amount appropriated for contract schools is \$204,488.

I am sure that you will be glad that the Commissioner has a larger fund at his disposal for next year, and that he will be able to add several important schools to those now in existence. It is contemplated to build a large school at Rosebud Agency and another at the Pine Ridge as soon as possible. Some others are projected.

The allotment of lands has continued with perhaps as great rapidity as the exigencies of the service would warrant. During the last year patents were issued and delivered to 2,283 allottees. Patents were made out, and are ready to be delivered, amounting to 919. Allotments were approved and sent to the Department to have the patents prepared amounting to 2,658; and additional schedules of allotment have been received at the Indian Office, but not yet examined, amounting to 3,623. Last January I had the records of the Indian Office very carefully examined in order to ascertain how many allotments had been made since 1887—when the general allotment was approved—and the summary is 49,957 allotments, and patents issued, 33,732. Up to this date there have been nearly 60,000 allotments made and about 35,000 patents issued.

That shows the magnitude of the work; and yet it is ten years almost since the allotment bill was approved and passed, and an immense amount of work in that direction yet remains to be done. I should have added that nonreservation Indians have received 606 allotments and patents. They take up their allotments, under the homestead laws, in the public lands, the Government paying their fees for them.

There has been during the year no general legislation upon Indian affairs of great importance. The bill for the reorganization of the Indian Bureau failed to receive attention in Congress. The bill for the establishment of a government in the Indian Territory also failed. Another bill of very great importance has failed for two years in succession; that is, the act for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to allottees. Complaints come up to us from all quarters of the disastrous effects of liquor selling, coming in under the laws as they have been interpreted by judges of State courts; and there is now a free sale of intoxicating liquors to Indian allottees. Commissioner Browning prepared a bill two years ago to meet this difficulty, and it was passed by the House of Representatives, but failed to receive attention in the Senate. Last year the bill was introduced in both Houses. It received the approval of the committee of the House, but no further action was taken. In the Senate it was referred to the committee, and nothing more was heard of it. Now, I hope that every member of this conference who knows a member of Congress will give him no rest until he takes hold of this measure and tries to see it through. It is of vital consequence. The allotment of lands and the securing of homesteads will be an utter failure if we allow intoxicating drinks to come in and ruin the Indians to whom these allotments have been made.

When we think of the condition of affairs twenty years ago, or even fifteen years ago, when the idea of this conference took shape in the mind of our good friend and brother, Mr. Smiley, we can not help rejoicing and thanking God for what has already been accomplished. We have seen the spoils system in the Indian service substantially overthrown. We have seen the school system organized and put into good shape, so that it will accomplish more and more year by year. We have seen this work of allotment going on year after year, until multitudes of Indians now are settled upon their homesteads; and the Department is doing all in its power to aid those who take up their allotments in the way of building houses, furnishing tools and seeds. So that all over the land Indians are getting to work, and they are engaged in many industries besides farming. Many are employed by the Government. More than \$400,000 was paid to Indian employees at the various agencies and in the schools during the last year, and much more was earned by chopping wood, fishing, and in many other ways.

Though so much has been done, and we see reason to thank God and take courage, there yet remains enough for us to do. We have to maintain the civil-service reform against all opposition from whatever source it may come. We have to continue the school work with all the aid we can render by our advice and our material help. We have to work for the moral elevation and the Christianization of the Indians, so that they may resist the temptations that come in upon them from every side. We have to maintain their rights against the men who are determined, in all possible ways, to get hold of Indian property if they can. It seems to be the idea among many men that, if an Indian occupies a piece of land, it must be specially valuable for some purpose, and he wants to get hold of it.

There is another thing in connection with this allotment which we have to work for, and that is to resist too rapid a sale of the unallotted lands. Many of the reservations are good only for grazing purposes, and the great body of land should be held in common by the Indians even after they have taken their allotments, so that they may use it for the herding of cattle, as that is probably the only industry in which many of them can be successful.

I am sure, looking over the whole field, we can say in the words of the old hymn which we have so often sung, "Give to the winds thy fears, hope, and be undismayed."

President Gates introduced Mr. Francis E. Leupp as the Washington representative of the Indian Rights Association and the latest appointment to the United States Board of Indian Commissioners.

VISITS TO RESERVATIONS.

Mr. LEUPP. I have been over the Northwest this summer and have visited a number of reservations. I shall not attempt, therefore, to give a full account of my wanderings, but will pick out a few of the salient features that may be interesting.

One visit I made was to the Sac and Fox Reservation in Iowa. It was a striking object lesson in the matter of which you have heard this morning—the fruitlessness of the reservation system. The Sac and Fox Reservation is in the midst of a teeming civilization in a farming country, and the people all about there are as fair samples of American citizenship in the agricultural district as one could look for. There is a healthy sentiment among them about the Indians, as a rule. Yet we have drawn a line around the reservation out of which no Indian shall come and into which no white man shall go. The result is that these Indians have been there nearly a half century, and are hardly advanced beyond the point at which they started. The houses in which they live give a fair idea of the degree of civilization they have reached. They are made of unplanned hemlock boards, and put up by the Indians themselves. They are built in a rather primitive fashion, and their most curious feature is the windows. A window consists of a movable clapboard hung on strap hinges, which the family let down for light and air, and which they shut up when it is too cold or stormy. The way the houses are built is characteristic. They are carried up in the ordinary manner as far as the square goes, but the angles made by the gables are filled in with strips of bark and rush thatching, possibly because it is difficult to saw boards to fit, whereas the bark and thatchwork can be done with a jackknife. These Indians enjoy one advantage in being in a community where public sentiment is against the liquor traffic; for, in the few instances that have come to light for some years past, the white dealers who have sold liquor to the Indians have been vigorously prosecuted and judgment always found against them, so that it has become too dangerous a business even for those who are restrained by no moral scruples.

Another point of interest visited this summer was the Sisseton Agency, where the Indians have had allotments in severalty for some years. They had their share of the common experience of double allotments being given to one Indian, while some other Indian was left out through confusion of names. All this is in process of adjustment, but meanwhile it has borne one unpleasant fruit.

The Indians received this year a cash payment from the Government amounting to about \$34 per capita. The whites in the neighborhood, knowing that the Indians were to receive this money, planned to get all of it that they could. They came as near to the reservation as they dared and set up gambling establishments and places for selling intoxicating liquors. The agent, Mr. Keller, by very hard work had contrived to drive these people off for two or three years, going as far in that direction as he could within the law; but they carefully examined the map of the reservation and discovered that there was one little tract—a quarter section which seems to have been given to some Indian who had an allotment elsewhere and been abandoned by him. This was just across a narrow ravine from the agency buildings. There the white sharpers set up a miniature city this summer, with their gambling shanties and liquor tents and all the rest, with the idea that the Indians, as fast as they got their money, would go there and be drawn into the net. That was the plan. But the agent warned the Indians, established a police cordon for their protection, and had some of the sharpers arrested. The dramsellers and gamblers were therefore forced to prey chiefly upon victims of their own color, and had a pretty unprofitable season as a whole. There is good reason to doubt whether the miniature city will be found there another year.

One word with regard to payments like this one, where the Treasury simply pours money into the Indians' laps. Here was a case where many of the Indians had been leading industrious lives, and, even admitting the existence of another element among them, their movement was generally upward. The prairie country on the reservation looks like a boundless sweep of dead level, but there are ravines here and there where trees grow. The more industrious Indians have been in the habit of cutting these trees and selling the wood for fuel. Mr. Baskerville, the missionary who is in charge of the Good Will School about 2 miles from the agency, told me that he had been in the habit of laying in his stock of winter fuel by buying from the Indians, and until this year usually had his shed partly filled by the middle of the summer. But this year, up to the time of my visit, in spite of all the efforts he had made, the Indians had been so excited and overwrought with the feeling that some money was coming to them for which they would not have to work that only a few of them had even begun to cut their wood. A very few thrifty ones had brought in a little, but he did not know at that time just where he was to look for the bulk of his wood for the winter. Many of the farming Indians, too, had neglected to put in crops, or had sowed only small ones, for the same reason.

Another point I visited was La Pointe Agency in Wisconsin. This agency has seven reservations attached to it. Two of these, the Bad River and Lac de Flambeau, have passed through a wonderful transformation within a few years. Lieutenant Mercer, the acting Indian agent, is a young and energetic army officer, ambitious of making a record as a man of business. His force of character has brought upon him the wrath of a half dozen mixed bloods who had been in the habit, before he came, of running the agency as they pleased. Former agents seem to have been afraid of them. Mercer has taken hold of the lumbering interests of his Indians and is making a good thing out of them. He has concluded contracts with reputable lumber dealers, who have come in and set up mills costing from \$30,000 to \$350,000 apiece, and have cut the timber and sawed it into merchantable forms on the reservation, so that each Indian allottee gets the full value of every stick of wood growing on his allotment. I looked into a number of complaints which had reached me from La Pointe and found them utterly trivial; as a rule they had been instigated by people who were disposed to do everything they could to make trouble for the agent. Some of these mischiefmakers have had to be dismissed from the reservation as incorrigible nuisances and stirrers-up of bad blood.

A good many of the Indians have been stimulated to work at the sawmills and in the logging camps. The contractors have honestly tried to carry out the idea of giving them the same pay as white men for the same work. The result is that at Bad River not only have some \$30,000 of the contractors' money been distributed among the Indians for work, but about \$60,000 more have gone out in the way of subcontracts with Indians and mixed bloods who have organized logging camps.

The Red Cliff Reservation, another attached to La Pointe Agency, contains about two hundred very industrious and worthy Indians. These men have struggled hard to get a living, and succeeded uncommonly well. One of their original industries—the most important one—was the net fishery in a bay adjoining the reservation. Recently, however, at the instigation of some white men engaged in the fishery business, with whom these Indians came into competition, the legislature of Wisconsin passed a law forbidding such net fishing as the Indians were engaged in. The result is that these poor fellows are thrown upon their backs. They have no other resources except farming in a small way, but they still put on a sturdy front and ask no odds of the Government. They are most anxious now for the President's approval of an allotment plan which was submitted at Washington in their behalf several years ago, but which in some way was side tracked. If the President could be induced to approve this allotment plan the Red Cliff Indians would continue to be self-supporting, for they could sell their growing timber.

Something has been said this morning with regard to the liquor bills which have been introduced into Congress. Contradictory attitudes have been taken in regard to this kind of legislation by our statesmen in Washington. I went to Senator Pettigrew a while ago to see whether the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs would not put one of these bills on its passage. He wanted to know what was the trouble with the laws we already had. I answered that they did not go far enough; we wanted some legislation to protect the Indians to whom allotments had been made. "No," he said, "we can not do anything of that kind. It would be unconstitutional. Those Indians are citizens; and there is no way of preventing them, by United States law, from buying liquor if they want to."

As the House committee had reported a liquor bill favorably, I sought a prominent member of that committee. "How is this?" I asked him. "You are a lawyer, and Senator Pettigrew is a lawyer; yet you have reported favorably on a bill which he refuses to recognize as constitutional." "Oh," he replied, "that whole constitutional question was argued in our committee till I grew tired and exclaimed, 'Gentlemen, we can talk over this thing till doomsday and get no nearer a conclusion. The only thing for us to do is to pass the bill and let the Constitution go to ballyhack.'" When we can induce a few more Congressmen to take the view that it is the business of the courts, and not of Congress, to settle constitutional questions, we may get something done.

ADDRESS OF MISS M. C. COLLINS, OF FORT YATES, N. DAK.

I have just come from the West, almost directly from the Standing Rock Agency, and am glad to bring you some news which is encouraging. But I want to say to you, first, dear friends, do not be too hopeful. Do not at once think that you have accomplished all there is to do, and that the Government has done all it can do for the Indian people. There is a great work yet for Mohonk and for the Indian Rights Association to do. If an agency is all right, it will do no harm for you to watch it; and if it is all wrong you ought to know it.

I find on our reservation that the question which presents itself to us is not the Indian problem, but the white man problem. Our Indians are ready to be civilized. Many are trying to become civilized, but their experience with white people is often

such that we have constantly to remind them that all white men, even though they be dead, are not good.

Not long ago one of the old Indian chiefs, Grindstone, was in conversation with a nonprogressive man who does not believe that it pays to put all our Indian youth into school. Grindstone is solemn, quiet, never speaks aloud or gets excited, but he said this to the other Indian: "My friend, there is one thing that Indians must learn; we must learn to take off our hats to the flag, we must learn to honor the church, we must learn to support the schools." Patriotism, Christianity, and education are what the Indians all need. We must Christianize them to civilize them. Grindstone was one of the followers of Sitting Bull and was in the battle of the Little Big Horn, where Custer fell. He has all his life been considered one of the leading warriors among his people, an honorable man, a grand man, and he sees that the rising generation must live in a different way from past generations.

My work as a missionary brings me in contact with the people in their homes, and I can see a great improvement in the last few years. When I first reached there I could not in all the region buy hay for my horses. No Indian ever put up hay. He had ponies, and when the snow did not fall too deep they could beat it away with their hoofs and get grass. But when the snow drifted up, sometimes forty feet deep in the ravines, the ponies starved to death, or if they survived were hardly able to travel. This summer a large number of my people have put up from 40 to 100 tons of hay. When I first went there few cattle were owned by Indians. One of our men had 9, and that was about as large a herd as was found on the Grand River. Now we have a great many owning from 20 to 75 head. When I first tried to persuade them to take care of their cattle it was uphill work. A man with 4 or 5 cows usually had 2 or 3 calves, but accidents would happen to them, and they would be killed and eaten. I remember taking a blackboard and putting the number of cows that one man had on the board, and explaining how they would increase naturally and how if they would keep these cattle, in ten years they would have a certain number. A man from a long distance came to me and asked me to explain it all to him again. He was one of the first to settle down, and has now 60 head; and some of the Indians say he is the stingiest man they ever saw because no accident ever happens to his calves.

Our church work is under the American Missionary Association. We began ten years ago on Standing Rock Agency without a single church. To-day we have a large church and about two hundred adult members, besides the following within the families. I can tell by our Fourth of July celebrations what our following is, because the people divide by churches. It is almost impossible to make the people come together in one grand celebration; and the denominations, Episcopalian, Catholic, and ourselves, have separate celebrations, though they have tried to have but one. Last Fourth of July our Church of the Sacred Herald had fifteen hundred people present, almost all our own. That was a large meeting. Our Indians are learning to vote upon important questions and to carry on their own missionary societies. Until this year we have always had to do the great part of the work for the Fourth of July. This year I suggested that they have the celebration without asking me any questions, unless there was a controversy to settle. They appointed their own committees and arranged their meeting and raised their money for fireworks. They appointed their own speakers, and among others appointed an old-time Indian to represent the old times; and he did it, and he did as much for us as any of the speakers. We had one of the deacons of the church to represent the progressive Indians, a returned student to represent the students, the ministers to represent the church. When dinner came it was served by twelve young girls who had on new dresses, though it was very hot, of the most gorgeous scarlet and purple velvet with white aprons, and they waited on the tables beautifully. The dinner also was prepared by the Indians themselves. An Indian from another church asked one of our men, "How is it you know how to manage so well?" He replied, "They say it is because we are Congregationalists and have to govern ourselves."

In our missionary meetings we raised \$1,000 last year for native missionary work. At our last meeting, at Yankton, the question came up about new missionaries in the field, and our Indians raised enough to pay \$300 a year for three native missionaries and they are never in debt. I will tell you why, because each year they have the money laid down in the hands of the treasurer to carry on the work for the next year. They had this year after the salaries were paid \$1,000 in hand. And when our missionary said, "The American Missionary Association is needing help so much, and this is their great jubilee year, we hope you will make a gift to that association to carry on its work," the most hopeful said they thought they could give \$50, but it would be hard work to get it. They went out and appointed a committee, and the result was that they made a gift of \$300 to the American Missionary Association to help pay its debt. Then came the question of the Crow Indians. They need a missionary very much; and the question came up of sending a Sioux missionary to their old enemies, the Crows. The question was considered and decided that

these Sioux Indians should raise another \$300 in addition to the \$900 already raised; and they will do it this year. This is the hopeful side; this is the Indian side of the question.

There is another side which is not so hopeful. It is true we have American schools among us, and it is true that the Government in Washington is doing a great deal, perhaps all that it can; but it is a long way from Washington to the Indian reservation, and there are a great many to come between our Indian Commissioner and school superintendent (Dr. Hailmann, I mean) and our Indians.

We have three or four police judges among our Indians, and it seems to me it would be a good plan for them to learn to be citizens by electing these police judges themselves. Why not? They are appointed now by the agent. He sometimes appoints a good man, just the right man; but it is not every agent who can select a man for a judge that will please the Indians. The Indians would be satisfied with a man whom the majority of them had chosen. If those Indians could learn something about voting, and the necessity of standing by a man, it would be worth everything to our people. Wouldn't it be well for us to begin to learn something about citizenship before acting as citizens? Our Government schools are largely under the agent.

We have a fine superintendent. No one would criticize Dr. Hailmann; but he is not on the reservation. And it seems to me that each Indian reservation should have an assistant superintendent who could be reached by every teacher and every employee on the reservation connected with our Government schools, without the delay of appealing to Washington in all the difficulties that arise. No city would attempt to carry on its great schools with no one but a State superintendent to have the oversight of them. If it did, their schools would be failures. A good superintendent in Washington, assisted and strengthened by good and efficient educators as supervisors, and good men of high standing as agency school superintendents, could in a few years so grade our Government schools that after a time they would naturally fall into line with the ordinary public system.

Mr. WELSH. Is there organized opposition to the bill preventing the sale of liquor to Indian allottees, or is it simply indifference which prevents its passage?

General WHITTLESBY. I do not think there is any organized opposition. I think it is indifference on the part of our Members of Congress. I wish the subject could be brought up again during the coming winter.

Mr. WELSH. Do you think such a law would be unconstitutional, as Senator Pettigrew claims?

General WHITTLESBY. With all due respect to Senator Pettigrew, whom in many respects I highly esteem, I do not think such a law unconstitutional. It was drawn up by Commissioner Browning himself, and he is a good lawyer.

Dr. RYDER. Miss Collins has done a great deal for the physical condition of the people. I should like to ask her if there is any improvement in the health of women and children on the reservation.

Miss COLLINS. The best way I can judge of that is by my congregations in church on Sunday. When I first went there I was not troubled very much with little children in the congregation. Now the house is pretty well filled with them. It is very rare for the Christian people to lose their children now. They have learned to feed and clothe them properly, and, having done away with the old-time methods, the mothers do not stand out watching the dances with the baby on their backs freezing to death. There is great improvement in their health.

Question. How is it about returned Indians?

Miss COLLINS. I have never known of a single case where a returned Indian student relapsed to barbarism. I know one man who came home who had learned to bake bread and wash and iron; and when I visited his home, his house, which had been a one-room cabin, he had enlarged by building on a room and had put in a floor in place of the dirt floor. And there were white curtains, and a shelf on the wall where he had his Hampton books, and he had taught his mother to wash and iron. He bought a dress for his mother and asked me to cut it out, as he had never been taught to make dresses.

Question. Are you troubled with many squaw men?

Miss COLLINS. Not so much on our reservation, because an order was issued that every white man should be legally married to any Indian woman with whom he was living.

Question. Are the Indians ready to accept medicine from the white doctor?

Miss COLLINS. Yes; there is no difficulty about that now.

Question. Do the old medicine men have much influence at your agency?

Miss COLLINS. Not very much; the people are beginning to be too intelligent. They understand that it was largely fraud and not much medicine.

Question. Do you think there is an increasing desire on the part of the Indian to go away to school?

Miss COLLINS. On our agency, no. They have been discouraged from going away. They are not going away as much as I should like to have them. We wish we could send away a hundred every year. I heartily believe in the Eastern schools.

Question. Will you tell us about the ticket system in regard to business transactions?

Miss COLLINS. We have a system of cheap money on our reservation. Every Indian trader is allowed to make tickets and issue them with his name on them, 25 cents, etc., good in merchandise. These are paid to the Indians at the beef issue for the beef hides which belong to the Indian. They are received for purchases made at the store; but the traders will never receive them for debt. I have always opposed this system. When the Government orders that they shall be taken for debt the system will soon be done away with. We want the Indians to be independent and to be able to trade where they can do the best. The 75-cent dollar is used all over the reservation.

General EATON. What is there in the way of sending the Indians to Eastern schools?

Miss COLLINS. For what reason it is discouraged I can not say. I know that it is discouraged on our reservation. If there was more encouragement from the agents and other officials it would be easier to send students away.

Question. Is it not understood that the superintendent at Washington favors the policy of sending them East to the higher schools?

Miss COLLINS. I think it is understood. But when you send a boy or girl away to school you must have the parent or guardian go before the agent and state that he is willing to have him go, and often it is too far for the parent, and often he does not wish to go to the agents. It is impossible to make such men ride 30 or 40 miles to say they are willing when they are not.

Question. Is there any attempt made to keep statistics about the health of the children?

Miss COLLINS. The figures are partially kept by the agency physician. I do not think they have ever been kept very accurately.

Question. Does the fact that now most of the children live have any great influence upon the minds of the Indians?

Miss COLLINS. Yes; it has a very great influence on the old-time Indians. When they come to see that the Christian Indians have large families they begin to think that the God of the Christians has something to do with it, and are more ready to accept Christian teachings.

Question. To refer to the money system again, has this ticket system been established by Government authority?

Miss COLLINS. I think it is permitted in Washington, but I do not think it is perfectly understood. They are made to believe that it is hard for us to get cash, so these tickets are used. Here is an illustration of the way it works: A man owed an Indian and paid him in tickets amounting to \$4. The man needed money, so I gave him \$4 in cash for his tickets, and thought that I was well enough known to have money for them. I sent them to a trader with a note asking to have them cashed. He cashed them, taking off 25 per cent.

Question. Is there compulsory attendance at school?

Miss COLLINS. The police go out and bring in the children, but there is a good deal of trouble because a large proportion of children are not fit to be in school on account of scrofula and lung troubles. A short time ago a man and wife came with a little girl so sick that if she was one of your children she would be in the best place that could be found for her with the best medical attendance. This little child was brought to school by force and the parents' hearts were broken because they were afraid that she would die. As soon as the children are found to be sick in the school they will send them out again. There should be in some way a medical examination first, and only compel those children to attend who are able.

Question. Who compels them?

Miss COLLINS. The Indian agent, by dropping the names from the ration ticket. It makes an uncomfortable feeling among the Indians. They feel that they are not treated justly.

Question. Are there not extra rations for old and sick people?

Miss COLLINS. No; not to my knowledge. I have never seen any.

Question. How far do the reservation schools carry the children in their studies?

Miss COLLINS. The most of our reservation schools would not be higher than the lower classes of a grammar school, but they gain a great deal besides books—how to care for the body, how to do housework, and many other things. They are kept in school too constantly, too many hours, and are compelled to rise too early. The artificial light is not good for their eyes in the night schools. All these things need looking after. The children work too hard.

Question. Do they have training in morals and ideas of citizenship?

Miss COLLINS. I think they receive a little training in morals, not so much as they ought, and often the example of laborers around the school will undo all that the teacher can do.

Question. Is the instruction merely in English?

Miss COLLINS. Wholly in English.

Question. How many persons are there in your agency?

Miss COLLINS. About 4,000, I think.

Question. You speak of the child's name being taken off the ration ticket. You mean it is issued to the school, not to the home?

Miss COLLINS. It is issued to the school, but if the child goes home, after a long time the parent may get it back again if he will work for it patiently and persistently.

Dr. STIMSON. I knew something of the work in that neighborhood before Miss Collins went out there, for, twenty-five years ago, in the days of Dr. Williamson and the elder Riggs, I was there, and I knew the Indians. At that time I saw mills and engines unused, representing thousands of dollars, that had been out there for the Indians. I saw houses for Indian chiefs, costing from \$2,000 to \$3,000, which had never been occupied. That was the standard of progress which had been made by the Government in its effort to civilize the Indian at that time. There was an intelligent agent striving to do his best, but he found himself checked in his work, and his work destroyed, and himself cast out by the machinations of selfish men who were able to use the efforts of the Indian in the East to do the work of the devil in destroying the work of good men. I know when Miss Collins came out there and how the Indians learned to love her as Winona. I shall not forget when Indians first came to the communion service there wrapped in blankets. We need to go only about half way back to that time to reach those public meetings when some of us pleaded for citizenship and rights of property for the Indians, and our ideas were treated as chimerical. The progress which has been made in the short time which has passed since Miss Collins undertook her work with vigor, intelligence, and hopefulness deserves our hearty tribute.

Rev. Egerton R. Young was next introduced by President Gates as a Canadian missionary who had spent a number of years among the Cree and Saulteaux Indians in the Hudson Bay territories.

ADDRESS OF REV. EGERTON R. YOUNG.

WORK IN CANADA.

My work for a number of years was in the far north in Canada. There the only inhabitants are Indians, with the exception of the fur traders and their families. The powerful Hudson Bay Company have been in existence for over two hundred years. They obtained their charter from Charles I. On the whole, their treatment of the Indians has been fair and honorable.

I went out to that land as a missionary in 1868. At the time my church called me to this missionary work I was pastor of a flourishing church in the city of Hamilton, in Canada.

One strong motive that caused my good wife, with me, to resolve to go to that far-away land and isolated work was, if fur traders are willing to go and live in such regions for the sake of getting rich in bartering their goods for the valuable furs of the Indians, what is our religion worth if we are not willing to make equal sacrifices for the spiritual and eternal welfare of the Indians?

We were two months and nineteen days on the journey. We often refer to it as our honeymoon trip, as we had only been a short time married.

As St. Paul for a time was our nearest city, we were about 1,200 miles from civilization. Our nearest post-office was 400 miles away, and we waited six months for our daily newspaper.

Our first habitation was a substantial log house. Soon after we had taken up our abode in it we had a long talk with the Indians and tried to get into a good understanding with them. We told them that in spite of all that had been said against them as to their being thievish and unreliable and ungrateful, we were going to trust them; and so, no matter how others had thought best to act toward them, our plan was to trust them, and then see how they would act toward us. So we took the fastenings off the windows, the bolt off the doors, and the keys out of the locks, and were never particular afterwards in locking or fastening up anything. Grandly did they respond to this confidence reposed in them, and never did we have stolen from us anything of the value of a sixpence.

While learning their language so as to be able to talk to them, we, as all the missionaries everywhere among them have been doing, introduced the study of English into the schools, and now in our older missions all the children and many of the older people can talk in English. At an old mission I lately visited among the Oneidas I spoke to the children in Indian. At my words the children were amazed, as they now know only the English language. Looking at this from the sentimental side, it may seem a matter of regret that these Indian languages, some of them so poetical, should be forgotten and entirely disappear; but if we are going to build up a great, magnificent America, with its two great divisions—Canada and the United States—let it be a mighty people speaking one language.

I would here desire to add my testimony to what has been well said on the subject of the missionary being a medical man. To be able to administer to the sick and diseased among them gives him a marvelous influence for good over them.

Then the missionary who would be a success among the Indians must be a man who is willing and able to put himself at their head and show them that good, honest, hard physical toil is not degrading. The pagan Indian hates labor. He leaves it all to the women. He can be active enough when hunting or fishing, but he simply abominates the ax and the spade and the hoe. "Let the women do all that work!" is his cry. So the minister or missionary who would succeed must show him by example that it is not degrading to toil.

But the grandest triumphs only come by putting Christianity first. Civilization, with its many blessings, then follows very much more easily, and abides.

Long years ago we had a governor in Canada who tried to civilize a tribe of Indians without the gospel. It was not a success. In spite of his feasting them and pleading with them to go to work as they saw the white settlers doing, they only hung the bright new axes around their necks as ornaments, and then made a fire of the wooden plows and harrows and ate up the oxen sent among them for use.

That is a sample of the efforts to civilize without first sending the gospel. When the gospel enters into their hearts, the very horizon of life seems to widen. Then the once listless, careless, cruel tyrants go to the missionaries and say: "Can not you help us to a better life here also?"

Marvelous have been the real and abiding blessings conferred upon them. See those northern Indians. They lived altogether by fishing and hunting, and the missionaries and their families of those days had to live about as the natives did. Fancy fish, twenty-one times a week, as the staple food for six months; then game of various kinds, such as bear's meat, reindeer, muskrats, beavers, and an almost endless variety of other things of that kind, the rest of the year!

Until the fertile prairies of Manitoba began to be cultivated and flour transported into that northland, bread was a thing unknown. In the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," the intelligible translation is, "Give us this day something to keep us in life." So it was with the ordinary garden vegetables. They were unknown in many places. Fruits were never dreamed of. Once, when on a missionary lecturing tour in Toronto, some friend gave our only son—then a little lad of about 5 years of age—an apple. He did not know what to do with it. When told to eat it, he began at it very carefully, and when a piece of the thin core got in between his teeth he threw the half-eaten part down on the floor and exclaimed, indignantly: "I don't like this potato; it has too many fish scales in it."

Well, we rejoice to be able to report that a better state of things now obtains there. The missionaries have helped them, and the result is the people are vastly better off.

Some of my own experiments were interesting and suggestive. We have in the far northland only four months in which there is any growth. The summer is short and brilliant, the winter long and severe. At one place I succeeded in getting out for planting some seeds of hardy vegetables, and also four potatoes. As the season was half gone when my four potatoes arrived from the south, I only succeeded in raising from them some little ones about the size of acorns. However, we carefully packed them away from the frost in our hot dining room, in cotton wool, and then, planting them the next year, we obtained from them a large pailful of splendid potatoes. These yielded the next year about 6 bushels. The next year the crop was up to 125 bushels. Then the raising became quite universal among the people. I did my first plowing with dogs. Eight good dogs were able to draw my plow very nicely. With my dogs I also harrowed in my grain. They were the substitutes for horses and oxen, and were of great use to me, as with them I traveled some thousands of miles each winter on my long, long journeys to remote bands of Indians in the more distant wilderness. So interested and pleased did those Indians become in their efforts to cultivate the soil that a large number of them, under the guidance of their missionaries, migrated some hundreds of miles south to a place called Fish River, in the northern part of Manitoba. Here the Canadian Government has given them a splendid reservation, 14 miles long and 7 wide.

I wish here to put in my most emphatic testimony to the kindly interest our Canadian Government takes in the welfare of the Indians of our country. We have never had in Canada an Indian war. We allow no Indian agent to swindle or rob the natives. We punish most severely any man who tries to sell intoxicating liquors to them.

I visited the Fish River Reservation in 1893. I was delighted with what I saw. I spent a week in the house of one of the Indians. It was as clean as could be desired. The food cooked by them was abundant and wholesome. In some of the houses there were Canada organs and sewing machines, and the native women and girls could use them fairly well. When I worshipped with them on the Sabbath, I found them

well dressed in the garments of civilization; and they were devout and attentive listeners: as I preached to them the old gospel that they still love as in the days of yore when it lifted them up out of the darkness and superstition of paganism into the light of Christianity.

Their old habits and customs are now almost things of the past. They love to imitate the whites in various ways. At one church a bride of a fur trader came to church with a pretty little lace veil that reached just below her nose. The Indian girls, who had put their luxuriant hair up in nets, when they saw this veil, during prayers dragged their nets forward over their heads, and hitched them on their noses in imitation of the white lady.

This constant watching on their part made us careful to ever set before them a good example.

Marvelous has been the transformation wrought among them. They can be saved. Pity that the great people of this great continent did not set about the work earlier!

Well, we will rejoice at what is now being done. We all thank God for Mohonk and for Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. May the good work go on; and while the educating and civilizing work is making such glorious strides, let us, as Christians, not forget that if we want to have a real and abiding civilization and uplifting of these Indians, we must send them the Bible and the knowledge of the great truths of the gospel as therein recorded. Then the work will not be in vain, and neither will it be easily overturned.

SECOND SESSION.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, *October 14.*

The conference was called to order at 8 p. m., and Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge, field matron, from New Mexico, was introduced.

ADDRESS OF MRS. ELDRIDGE.

It is always best to remember that our Navajo Indians are not fed or supported by the Government in anyway, but are self-supporting. They have for many years lived upon the products of their herds of sheep. The men used to own ponies and great flocks, but the fall in the price of wool has left them without any means of subsistence, and they are now going through the transition from herders to farmers. Five years ago my friend Miss Raymond and myself were sent by the missionary society to work among the Navajoes. When the request went to the agent for a locality for us, he said, "Put those women just as far from the agency as you can; we don't want missionary women watching us and reporting." So we were sent into the very northern part of the reservation, where we had about three-fourths of an acre of land. Back of us rose two mountains 500 or 600 feet high. South was a river, and our open side was toward the plains. We were there when it was very cold, but a tent was given to us, which we lived in for six weeks. In the meantime the Indians came about us and informed us that they had no use for white people, and the quicker we got off the better it would please them. It was not a very encouraging beginning. Then a few weeks' serious illness broke out among them, and as they had been growing very poor for two or three years and were not able to employ a medicine man, they came to us for help, and we were able to help them by giving them medicine. At the end of six weeks we found that we were to be allowed to stay, and so we built a small house of rough timber, and in that we stayed through the winter. The Indians gradually came to us more and more, and in this way we got hold of them. The Navajoes are very independent Indians. They are very hard working men and women. They were just finding out that they could not live longer on the proceeds of their flocks and were wondering how they should subsist. Nothing can be raised there except by irrigation, and we made them understand that they must take out water upon the lands and raise their own corn and wheat. Soon after, we found some of our men had begun working to dig a ditch. The ditch was to be 8 or 9 feet deep at the head, and a mile in length, before the water would be available for irrigation. For tools they had only an old ax, a broken-handled shovel, and a pick from some white man, and with these three tools they had begun work. About that time money was sent to us by the Cambridge Association—some \$75—with which we bought tools for the Indians. They kept up this work all winter and well into the spring, but it was not completed in time, and they raised little that year. The second year they raised a very good crop of corn and some wheat, which they cut with their butcher knives and cleaned in the old-time way such as we read about in the Bible. Following out this plan of putting in the ditches and getting something for the people to eat, ditches were put on both sides of the river and gardens made and homes started. There are not, however, enough irrigation ditches yet.

We have had some curious experiences among these people. One man came to our place two years ago and wanted to have us take his boy of 16 in hand, because he

would not work. He wanted one of us to whip his boy. We asked how much the boy had to eat every day. He said he had a handful of parched corn in the morning and another at night. I issued flour and coffee to the man and told him to take his boy home and feed him well and then put a shovel in his hands. If he worked well all the forenoon, to give him a good dinner, and if he worked poorly, to give him very little, and if he did not work at all, to give him no dinner. The plan worked to perfection, and the man came up the next week and said his boy was doing splendidly.

The people are ingenious in all kinds of work, the women especially. They do not, as a general thing, work in the field. They herd the sheep. The sheep belong to the women, and the ponies to the men. They spin well, and make the yarn from which they make the blankets. The weaving is very primitive. The beams are stretched between two trees, and this primitive loom is carried about with them when they move from place to place. They devise their own patterns for the blankets. One of the blankets I have for sale here took a woman one hundred and twenty days to weave; and I do not suppose her work counted for more than 25 cents a day. The spinning of the yarn would certainly have taken another hundred days. The Navajoes are now trying to make homes. That is their strongest love.

About 45 miles southwest of our place is a wash coming down from the mountains. Two years ago, when they had a good deal of snow, they built a rude dam and made a reservoir in which the snow water was held and carried by side ditches on to the sand; and for miles up and down there were nice crops of corn, wheat, melons, and squashes. This year there is not a hill of corn there, and nothing raised at all in that vicinity. On the north side of the reservation the white people have taken out no ditches from the irrigation fund. All that has been done has been done by Indians. We have had the service of no surveyor.

Five years ago if we had talked to them about allotments they would have been very angry. Now they are anxious to have homes and allotments.

That part of the country has been a rendezvous for criminals of all kinds, people trying to get away from arrest. They sell whisky to our Indians and gamble with them, and it has been very hard on that account. The only power we have in the matter is the moral power which we can exercise. These Indians with whom we associate every day it is comparatively easy to keep straight, but where they are miles away it is difficult. The question of the Utes being settled in our vicinity is a very serious matter for us. Those Utes who would not take allotments of land are to be brought down within 8 miles of the Navajo Indians. They are ration-fed and they are to be placed in a location where they will have to be fed always, for they can do nothing whatever with the land. We object very strongly to having them placed so near our Navajoes. Of course our Indians are not all good, and the bad ones will be made worse to be among the Utes, where they can gamble and get whisky.

The Navajoes are a reverent people. They will not accept a statement as to our belief very readily. They want to know our proof. They say we can not see the white man's God. Where is he? And if there is a God, why don't the white people behave as if there were one? They say a great many white people will do things that no Navajo will do. They give us pretty hard questions to answer sometimes—for instance, when they say, "If the white people have always known that there is a God, why have not they told us so before our fathers and mothers died? They never heard of any God." They also say, "Now my father was a good man; he did not steal, he did not lie, he did not kill anybody; but he knew nothing of this God you are telling us about. Now what has become of my father? Will he be lost forever because people did not come and tell him that there is a God?"

It is very touching. I think every Indian worker finds it so when he comes to face this question; and it seems to me it is a blot upon our Christianity that within 1,500 miles of us there are probably 20,000 people who have never heard of God.

Now we do not ask rations for our Navajoes. We do not want them to be fed. We do ask that they shall have tools to work with. They are not able to buy them. We ask that the Government shall furnish all that they need for their work. We ask also that they shall have good schools. If a school could be put in operation upon the Navajo Reservation, the children would go naturally from the day schools to the larger schools in the East, as naturally as our white children go from our public schools to college. But the great thing that our people are asking for is industrial training. They are anxious to know how to do work of every kind in the best way. Some are employed by white farmers in the vicinity, farmers who pay a white man \$1.50 a day and give him his board, but they hire our Navajoes for 50 cents a day; and at the same time they say our Navajoes do more work than the white men. It seems to me that if an Indian does just as good work, he should receive the same amount of money for it. I suppose this will naturally right itself after a while.

Question. Is there any timber near you?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. There is very little timber in that country north of the reservation. Any timber for building purposes must be drawn about 135 miles, and they

have no wagons and their ponies are very small. Laid down in our valley it costs \$38 a thousand; so the question of building is a very serious one, for the Navajoes have no money.

Question. How many people come under your care?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Our line runs about 25 miles to the east of us, 30 to the west, and 35 to the south, and we are supposed to visit the different camps and help them in every way we can.

Question. Do they speak English?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. No; very few of them. We have an interpreter who speaks good English.

Question. Do they wish to learn English?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Yes; they are very anxious to. That is their chief object in asking for schools. It is all they care to learn except industrial training.

Question. If the Navajoes could have modern looms for weaving their blankets, don't you think they would appreciate them?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. They would not be Navajo blankets then. They might appreciate the looms, but I do not think they would get money enough out of them to make them appreciate the difference in the time saved; for, as I say, after all, they would not be Navajo blankets. I should like to have them have a scouring mill and a spinning jenny so that they can work up their own wool, but I should prefer to have the blankets made after the old-fashioned Navajo style.

Question. Are the two blankets that you have on exhibition for sale, and at what price?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Yes, they are for sale; the better one is \$100, and the next is \$75.

Question. Have you ever made an effort to change their method of weaving?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. No, we have not; because our people have been on the verge of starvation, and our efforts have been in the line of getting them to raise farm produce to keep them alive. We have been farmers among them.

Question. Where do they get their colors for dyeing the wool?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. They are their own colors. Where they get the blue, no one has found out. The red is made from the bark of a certain tree, and the yellow from certain flowers.

Question. Can they get those colors now?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Yes; but the trouble is, they are not able to get money enough for their blankets to pay them, and they now use Germantown wool.

Question. Do they make baskets?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Very few.

Mr. GARRETT. I have a theory that the Navajoes could be taught skilled industries and be enabled to make considerable money.

General EATON. I think Mr. Garrett is right. It reminds me of efforts made in Europe to teach the women of different countries different industries. In Ireland, for instance, they found rude industries and taught the people how to improve them, and transformed the condition of a population of about 100,000 people, so that where they had at one time no income, it amounted afterwards to about \$80,000. If Mrs. Eldridge had a little help, I think this could be done among the Navajoes. Something similar has been done in Liberia.

Mr. JAMES WOOD. I want to take Mrs. Eldridge's side against Mr. Garrett. If made by a modern loom, they would no longer be a Navajo blanket. I spent some time last spring looking into this question, and I found that it is a unique blanket, different from any other made in the world. Mr. Garrett probably has upon his floors at home rugs brought from various parts of Asia. Why does he buy those expensive rugs? Because he could not get them from any other part of the world. A machine-made rug is not like a rug for which he pays hundreds of dollars. The Navajo is a unique blanket and it is a great surprise that so many people know so little about it. No other blanket in the world can give such service as a Navajo blanket. Miners will pay \$75 for them when they could get a machine-made blanket for \$10. Why? Because when he lies down under it, he has an absolutely waterproof covering. He can roll himself into one and lie in the melting snow and be perfectly dry, and there is no other blanket in which that can be done. Mrs. Eldridge is absolutely right. Here is one of the marvels of our country, that this aboriginal people, so different from all other people or other tribes on this continent, have developed of themselves an important and unique industry. Let us, right in the line of their development, help them not to make something that shall be a drug in the market, but that shall be unique. I saw there three years ago clips piled up because they had no market value, and my heart was wrung for these poor people when I saw this source of income, for which they are deserving of the greatest credit, cut off. They were on the verge of starvation because their industry was ruined.

One thing more. We are told here to-night that they have no patterns from which to weave these blankets; that the designs are carried altogether in their mind. I wish some one would tell us how it is that these patterns made by the Navajoes and

the patterns made by the Norwegians five hundred years ago are identically the same. I can show you a Norwegian rug which, hung up side by side with that one, would almost defy you to tell one from the other so far as the pattern and color are concerned.

Question. How are these 20,000 Indians going to get through the coming winter?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. They still have some of their flocks, and when they get very hungry, they will kill and eat their horses.

Question. Do you think this conference ought to ask for an appropriation to buy flour for them?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. No. We are an independent people, and it hurts us to take rations just as much as it hurts white people.

Capt. R. H. Pratt was asked to speak.

Captain PRATT. I want to add a word to the discussion about the Navajoes. Those people live in the poorest of houses. They move easily from place to place following their sheep; and this simple loom which enables them to produce these blankets they can roll up and carry on the pony's back and hang it up wherever they camp.

General EATON. Have you ever had any of them as students, and what would you train them in?

Captain PRATT. I have some now. I have one who is a successful machinist, who earns \$3 a day, having acquired that ability and worth in four years. That is the kind of industry I would teach them. I would get them all the abilities of civilization, and then let them swim around in it until they were saturated and could stand as individual men. I believe in ending Indian life in this country by making them individual and citizen. I believe if we force the issues to bring that about with just about the same vim we now force them to remain Indians and tribes, the object will soon be accomplished. We place and arm an agent with authority, give him a body of policemen, and a great deal of machinery to hold the Indians together as tribes, to hold the Navajoes on their reservation, for instance, and, in the meantime, white men go in and steal their tribal resources of living, their water, perhaps, by going a few miles above to the source of the river, and occupy the land, and run ditches, and use all the water, so that the poor Indian is left without a possibility of making a living.

During the summer I was in Arizona on the Pima, Maricopa Reservation. The white men belonging to the town above these Indians have absolutely taken just about all the water that the river affords; and the bottom lands along the river—that the Indians had cultivated by irrigation, and from which they had gained support for generations—are now barren. As a possible relief, the Government had civil engineers digging down and trying to find a sufficient water supply, which was to be lifted to the surface with powerful machinery for the benefit of the Indians. As an ignorant people unable to cope with us, in mass they are perfectly helpless. As individuals taught some civilized industry, I care not what (blackening boots on the street would be respectable), they are manly, and they will soon grow so that they may stand here as the next speaker who follows me has grown, and become independent, until we can and must respect them. An Indian, earning his own living by the sweat of his brow, moving about as a man in the United States, is surely worth dozens of the helpless Indians to whom we give 160 acres of land, and who can not speak our language, and who have to be rationed year after year.

The other day a preacher came to see my football boys practice, and a friend of mine heard him talking about the Indian school afterwards, and he said, "If the Government of the United States has nothing better for the Indians to do than to play football, I am going to quit taking up collections in my church for Indian missionary work." If, through foot ball, Indian boys can kick themselves into association and competition with white people, I would give every one a football. The Carlisle football team is out on a campaign this year. I have endeavored to bring them to the top in football as well as in other matters, and have urged my manager to get skillful instructors and to play only big games. The score this year has been with Dickinson College—Indians, 28; Dickinson College, 6; with the Duquesne Athletic Society, of Pittsburg, made up largely of college football men—Indians, 18; Duquesne, 0. To-day they play with Princeton, and a telegram says that Princeton scores 22 and the Indians 6.

President GATES. To score against Princeton is a good afternoon's work for any eleven.

Captain PRATT. Next week, Saturday, they play with Yale on the Manhattan Field, New York; on the 24th they play with Harvard at Cambridge; on the 7th of November with Pennsylvania University in Philadelphia. They may not score with any of them, but they play well enough to make themselves respected by the champions in this great game.

I talk to you every year about our outing system, pushing the Indians out into civilization. This year the school has had about 600 pupils out, and their aggregate

earnings amounted to almost \$20,000. They have in the bank, on interest at 6 per cent, about \$17,000 of their own earnings and savings. We have 805 students representing 61 tribes.

The question of getting the children away from the reservation came up this morning, and I was delighted with Miss Collins's answers. There was frankness and honesty about them. But can you not see that when you say to an Indian, "Now, my friend, this is your country and your home, and it is dear to you, of course. You have a family, and you love your children, and you want to be civilized like the white man; and we propose to bring our civilization all about you. You can do just as well here on the reservation. You can get your education here as well as at Carlisle or Hampton. Just stay here, and let your children go to school here where you can see them." Do you not see that that sort of influence is calculated to hinder the Indian going away to school? Then, these reservation influences demand that no child shall be taken away from the reservation without the child's consent and the parents' consent, given in writing before the agent—which adds to the difficulty of getting recruits; but we do get them. Carlisle never had so many students as it has this fall. We are in better shape than ever, and ready for the winter campaign.

I contend that the person who will hold the Indian to his narrow reservation influences is himself narrow, and the person who will push the Indian out into the wider opportunity of good civilized surroundings has the broader, better plan. That is the spirit of Miss Collins. She said she wished more could go to the Eastern schools. We shall have the Indian problem just so long as we have distinct communities of Indians. We must in some way break up the Indian community. We must help them to move about into our civilization, and when we consider that there are only about 250,000 Indians and that we can annually take in 500,000 Italians, Hungarians, and other immigrants, and scatter them about in our great American community, and when within two and a half centuries we can bring from the tropical zone and the other side of the earth 8,000,000 of black savages and civilize and citizenize them as a useful part of our population, it does seem that in three or four centuries our Indians ought to be brought into the same condition. If the reservation system is so good, why not pass laws to establish reservations for Italians, for Hungarians, and other nationalities, each with its agent, and have Hungarian and Italian commissioners in Washington, each with a great bureau? What a mess we would have!

No one can say I am opposed to missionaries. I have probably contributed my fair share to sustain home and foreign missionaries. I believe in them, but I do believe also that all of the influences at work on the Indians should be directed toward this emigration movement, if you can call it so. The Nez Percés are worse off now than they were four years ago before land in severalty was given to them. They are drinking and becoming so debased that it has become a problem whether we shall save any of them or not. Such are the conditions among their people at home that of their own notion the young people at Carlisle from that tribe have determined to stay at Carlisle. This conference will perform its highest duty to the Indians by helping them to break up their tribal relations and escape from their reservation influences and the hindrances to their development coming from being banded together as Indians.

Question. What portion of your students settle down in the East?

Captain PRATT. Very few. Do you want to know why? The Indian Department thinks it is a good thing for Indian youth to go back to their tribes, and it offers to all capable graduates and others place and salary for work among the Indians. They are thus lured and enticed to go back. That is the reason we do not have more of them in the East, not because there is not to be found plenty of work for them to do East. Rations, annuities, lands, and other enticements also abound. Many of them if they go back are not obliged to work. An Osage Indian is paid \$250 a year in quarterly installments. What incentive has he to work? He can live on that without work. Many of them hire the white men to work for them.

There are twenty to thirty Apaches belonging to the same band as the next speaker who are earning their own living in Pennsylvania. One of the Apache boys is employed in the great Pennsylvania Steel Work at Steelton. He is a skillful blacksmith. The superintendent was at Carlisle at the last commencement, and this young man showed various articles that he had made, and this superintendent offered him a job if he would come over; and he has been there ever since last March working successfully and really causing some anxiety among white men because he has been promoted to a higher salary and responsibility than the white men who have been there longer. We have skillful housekeepers and nurses among our Indian girls. No nurses in this country have received higher praise for their untiring watchfulness and care and for their skill than some of my Indian girls.

President GATES. We have learned that the problem is very complex, that different tribes of Indians have different characteristics, and that all these workers are

accomplishing something toward the solution of the problem. We are to hear next from a young Indian who was taken captive during General Crook's campaign. He was brought East in 1880 and shifted for himself, doing such work as he could, until he attracted the attention of the Bureau of Ethnology, for which he did some work in preparing for the exhibition at Chicago. He is now studying at Exeter, N. H. I will ask Mr. Antonio Apache to speak.

Mr. Apache spoke in substance as follows:

It gives me great pleasure to find so many friends of the Indians, for often I have thought that we had none. The Indians have been mistreated in many ways; and they will continue to be unless they have more friends than at present. I have visited nearly all the tribes in the United States; and I know that the Indians are willing to take care of themselves if we give them an opportunity. I think that rations are detrimental to the Indians. When I was at the Sisseton Agency, they told me that ten years ago some of them had good farms; but when the Government began to give them money they stopped farming. I never found a man who would work if money was given to him.

The way to help the Indian is to help him to make his own way, and give him something practical to do.

As to schools, the children go to school, but they can not learn anything at home. And when they come out of school and go home they lose what they have learned. The only way to educate them and make them self-supporting is to take them away from their surroundings. They learn more by imitation than in any other way.

In visiting the different tribes I have found less vice and crime in proportion to their numbers than in civilized communities. I have found some good hearts under a buckskin shirt. The great trouble is there has been too little justice given to the Indians. People have talked a great deal about trouble with the Apaches, but the Apaches have usually been justified. Troubles arise from disturbances occasioned by the white people in the vicinity. Much of this has been brought on by lack of management on the part of the officers in charge. These officers are not appointed for ability or fitness. I have found many men among the Indians who were not qualified to take care of them. The agent has got to be a broad, liberal-minded man. I have seen farmers, too, who had not visited the farms of the Indians for two years. You can't expect to make farmers of Indians under such instructions. I have seen men sent out as agents where irrigation had to be developed, and they did not know anything about it and cared less. I don't know whose responsibility this is, but I think it ought to be the responsibility of the Government to see to it. In some places the agents do not care anything about developing the resources of the reservation. In some cases, too, many are made the tools of the agent. There is room for improvement here. The only thing that the Indian asks is that your country shall be their country, and where you make your home their home shall be, and your God shall be their God.

Bishop H. B. Whipple was invited to speak.

BISHOP WHIPPLE. I always listen with great pleasure to my friend Captain Pratt. Perhaps you do not know that we were fellow-soldiers in this warfare twenty years ago. He had a number of Indian prisoners at St. Augustine, and we conferred together and organized a school, and several nights in the week I preached to them the dear old story of the love of Jesus Christ. I love Captain Pratt because he is a man of intense convictions. He is quite sure of his foundations. He is every inch a soldier, and in his line he has done a noble and grand work for the country and for the Indian; but I think you will agree that he has not told you all of the missionary side of the Indian question. I have no argument about missions. I have no story of hardships connected with missions.

As I look back upon my life I see that I have learned lessons among the Indians, and in the mission work that I should not have learned. I have seen sorrow. I have had 800 of my fellow-citizens lying in nameless graves, and in that sorrow what did I do? I read again the story of the hopefulness of Jesus Christ for humanity. In his love I tried to love all that he loves. I wish I could tell the story to-night of how this passion for humanity has drawn hearts together and how it has brought forth the most abundant fruit. More than twenty-five years ago I, an Episcopal bishop, was asked to be present at the annual meeting of the Quakers of the United States assembled in Baltimore. They asked me to talk to them about these poor Indian brothers. A few weeks later I was asked to the annual meeting of the Hicksite branch of the Quakers. Well, there came a day—and it was a dark day—that I received a message from the Indian country saying there was not food enough to last. I borrowed money from the bank to supply them temporarily; these Quakers from Philadelphia sent me \$2,000 to feed and care for these Indians. I have no tale of hardships, no tale of failure. The only failure is failure to do God's work. Just as certain as the promises of God are sure, we shall succeed if we work in God's way.

Among the Indians, where thirty-eight years ago there was drunken revelry, at my last visit a church that would seat 400 persons was filled. One hundred of these were communicants. I was there for ten days and I did not see a single blanket Indian. We have ten Indian churches there. That is not failure. Our Indian clergy are doing good work as pastors of the flock of Christ. I have seen the most beautiful instances of the power of religion in some of these men whom I first saw with painted faces and who are to-day living a civilized life toiling with their hands and helping to solve the problem that we all desire to solve.

I want to give you an instance in the life of that Christian worker, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes. He was a great friend of the Indians. He tried to do Christ's work. You know that the South felt that the vote of Florida and Louisiana had been stolen for Mr. Hayes from Mr. Tilden, and that Mr. Hayes was unjustly elected President. This must be remembered as I tell my story. I am one of the oldest members of the Peabody trustees, and we have a rule that when there is a vacancy in the board of trustees it shall be filled if it is in the North by a Northerner, in the South by a Southerner. The chief justice of Tennessee had died, and the nomination for his successor fell to the Southern trustees. There was Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, Richard Taylor, the right hand of Stonewall Jackson, H. R. Johnson, Governor Aiken, of South Carolina, and other Southern men. But Alexander Stuart said the Southern members asked the privilege of nominating a Northern man to fill the vacancy—one whom they wished to honor for his high Christian character, his incorruptible integrity, and his even-handed justice to the South—Rutherford B. Hayes. I thought of that incident as I listened to the speech of that earnest Christian woman this morning.

I know something about the Navajoes. Thirty-eight years ago I began to investigate the history of the different tribes, and as far as possible I read everything I could find connected with the history of the Indians, and so I learned about the Navajoes. When we bought New Mexico we bought a war with the Navajoes. We sent Kit Carson down to conquer the Navajoes, and he said he found one orchard of 1,200 peach trees. At the end of the war the Navajoes were moved and put where it was impossible for them to live. They were dying off. General Sherman visited them. An old chief came to the General and said, "My people are dying." The General asked the chief, "Where do you wish to go?" The old chief put his finger on the map and pointed out his old home, and said, "We want to go there." "Well, you shall go," said Sherman. "My people are sick and can not travel," said the chief. "Well, I will send them in wagons," said Sherman. And the old chief looked at him for a moment, and said, "I call you my brother, but my people will think you are God," and he threw his arm round General Sherman's neck. General Sherman was an old Indian fighter, and I have had as many spats with him as with any man I ever knew, but he loved me as a brother, and I loved him; and in that famous report of his he said, "The Indian problem will be solved, like a good many others, by a sentence in the old Book, which says, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'"

In a paper which I wrote thirty-six years ago on this Indian question I emphasized these things: First, the folly of teaching Indian children in their own language. After learning they have no books to read. Second, the impossibility of the Indian becoming civilized without government. And, let me say, we have not reached that point yet. Many of the difficulties of which Captain Pratt speaks can be solved the moment we give him exactly the same protection as we give to the white man. Third, individual rights of property. These, with the religion of Jesus Christ, will give to the Indian, as it has given to man all through the ages, manhood and freedom. There is no room for being discouraged. Let us put our shoulder to the wheel, and do all we can. God's hand is over us, and the end is sure.

Bishop Whipple closed by introducing Assistant Bishop Gilbert. Bishop Gilbert was invited to speak.

Bishop GILBERT. In the old days, before I knew this side of the Indian question, I thought Bishop Whipple was an idealist, and that he allowed his heart to run away with his judgment. Now, I have entirely changed my mind, and am an entire convert. For many years I lived among the miners of Montana, and I never heard one of them say a good word of the Indian. When I was elected as assistant to Bishop Whipple I said, "I am perfectly willing to do the work which will be laid on my shoulders, if so he will not ask me to look after the Indians." But the first summer after I was elected the bishop came to me and said, "I am not strong this summer, and I want you to go up and look after the Indians." I said, "Well, I suppose it is my part to obey;" and I came back a convert, because I saw the work that was going on. I saw the same kind of Indians I had seen in Montana, with like degradation, elevated through Christian education. Treat the Indian as a man, because he is a man. One of the leading lumbermen of Minnesota said to me a year ago, as I was returning from my annual trip—he was not a Christian man; he was a hard-headed, rough-and-ready business man: "Bishop," he said, "I want to tell you my

own experience. When I first began my lumbering business I began by employing some of the Indian young men. I paid them 75 cents a day, and gave them their rations—the very poorest rations I could find, because I thought that even that was better than they had been accustomed to, and it would do for them. I bought the cheapest clothing, and sold it to them at exorbitant prices. But the Indians shirked their work, and, after a few days, they would go off. I then ceased to employ them. The next year, as I was about to put my crews to work at Red Lake, an old chief came down one day to see me, and said: 'Are you going to employ my young men?' I said, 'No; I have had bad experience with them.' He replied, 'You are a young man, and I am an old man. Let me tell you one thing. Treat my young men as though they were men; treat them as well as you treat your white men; give them the same wages and the same kind of food, and clothe them with the same quality at the same prices, and you will see how they compare with the white laborers.' The chief spoke so earnestly that I consented to try them, and to-day I would rather have those Indian young men as my laborers than the average white man." That showed the wisdom of treating the Indians as men.

As to the effect of the Indian missions, let me relate a single instance. One year ago, as I was about starting on my trip, a gentleman came to me and said that he would like to go with me. He was a man of 70 years of age, of culture, and large experience in public affairs. He said he was very anxious to see the work among the Indians. When this man was a boy he had been brought up as a Christian and in his early manhood had been an earnest Christian man, but since coming West he had laid aside his Bible and had lost his anchorage. Well, he went with me; and as we passed through White Earth Reservation we were joined by one of our missionaries, who has given twenty-five years to the salvation of those people. As we went to the different Indian missions and the Indians gathered around us I could see the puzzled looks of this gentleman. We came one morning to Leach Lake. The Indians there had at one time been the most degraded band in Minnesota. It was not safe for a man to linger among them without protection. It was a beautiful September morning, and in the church was gathered a great congregation of the red children of the forest. It was packed to the doors—men, women, and children. They received the holy communion and then returned solemnly to their seats, one after the other. I was about to close the service when I looked back, and there was that old gray-headed man of 70, that man who had lost his faith, that man who had despised the Indian and did not believe that anything good could come of him, rising to his feet. He came up the aisle with his knees trembling and the tears running down his cheeks, knelt before the altar, where he received once more the blessed symbol of Christ's love. He had found there in the wilderness, among those people he had despised, the faith of his mother once more. He had knit together the cords of the anchorage which bound him to hope and to God.

When men tell me that missions are a failure among the Indians I simply ask them to see the impression on this man of the world which the Christian life of the Indians makes. Thus everywhere work good and true is the unanswerable argument.

There is hard work in connection with it. We do get disappointed. Men that were expected to be good Christians do fall back. But is not that equally true among other people? There is, however, one village upon Red Lake where every soul in it is a Christian. It is the only village of the kind in the United States. It is full of honesty and morality, and I have seen nowhere a better illustration of the Christian virtues than among these Red Lake Indians. So we go on. When the reservation system is broken up and the Indians stand forth among their white brothers as men, to work out their own salvation, they will be prepared for it by such work as Captain Pratt is doing, and by such work as Christian workers are doing, and by such work as we ministers of God are trying to do. The Indians will then be ready for citizenship, and the time will not come until they are ready for it.

On motion it was voted that a message of greeting should be sent to Miss Sibyl Carter, who was kept from the conference by sickness.

Adjourned at 1.30 p. m.

THIRD SESSION.

THURSDAY MORNING, *October 15.*

The conference was called to order, after prayers conducted by Bishop Whipple.

Miss Smiley read a greeting to Miss Sibyl Carter, which had been prepared by a committee consisting of Dr. Cuyler, Mrs. M. G. Fiske, and herself: "The Fourteenth Mohonk Indian Conference sends loving greeting to the Indian's most devoted friend, Miss Sibyl Carter, and extends to her most heartfelt sympathy and the earnest hope that her health and strength may be restored, that she may continue her noble and beautiful work."

The subject of the day was then taken up, "The Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory, and the relation of the Government to them." Mr. C. F. Meserve, president of Shaw University, was the first speaker.

THE FIVE NATIONS.

[By Charles F. Meserve, A. M.]

Before entering upon a description of the trip among the Five Nations, the reader would doubtless prefer me to place before him the legislation creating the Dawes Commission, its report, and the legislation proposed to remedy the present condition of affairs. In a brief report like this only a synopsis or salient features can be given, though nothing essential will be omitted. Section 16 of the act creating the Commission, approved March 3, 1893, is as follows:

"The President shall nominate and, by and with advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint three commissioners to enter into negotiations with the Cherokee Nation, the Choctaw Nation, the Chickasaw Nation, the Muscogee (or Creek) Nation, the Seminole Nation, for the purpose of extinguishment of the national or tribal title to any lands within that territory now held by any and all of such nations or tribes, either by cession of the same or some part thereof to the United States, or by the allotment and division of the same in severalty among the Indians of such nations and tribes aforesaid, or each of them, with the United States, with a view to such an adjustment upon the basis of justice and equity as may, with the consent of such nations or tribes of Indians, so far as may be necessary, be requisite and suitable, to enable the ultimate erection of a State or States of the Union which shall embrace the lands within said Indian Territory."

It will be seen from the above that the Commission had only the authority to negotiate. There was no power to bring about any result by force. Nothing could be done except by the voluntary consent or agreement of the respective nations, with a subsequent approval by the United States, and all in accordance with treaty stipulations.

From the report of the Commission to the Secretary of the Interior, under date of November 18, 1895, and from testimony given by members of the Commission in various hearings before the House Committee on Indian Affairs at Washington during the month of March, 1896, I learn that the Five Nations declined to negotiate, and, in some instances, treated the Commission with disrespect, or declined to even reply to their communications. The report and hearings set forth that the Indian Territory has been overrun with white people, who are there in large numbers; and because not only of the encouragement but invitation of the Indians themselves, that crime is rampant; that the timber, the coal, and the land are monopolized by a few, to the detriment of the many; that large towns have been built up by the whites, and that all these operations and enterprises are illegal, having no foundation in right or equity; that the governments of the Five Nations are corrupt, and that the United States, when it set apart this country for the Five Nations, never dreamed of such a condition of affairs as the Commission declares to exist there.

The Commission has been criticised for not leaving the Territory after the Five Nations had declined to "negotiate." These critics claim with much emphasis that the Commission had only power to negotiate. This criticism contains the essence of absurdity. What would be thought of a man who was sent on a mission and promptly came back and reported failure without stopping long enough to familiarize himself with the conditions that caused or even contributed to the failure? I have found no one who criticised the failure of the Commission to negotiate, but rather the investigation and statement of the condition of affairs that caused this failure.

The Indian Territory possesses the possibilities of a great State. Her area is 30,000 square miles. Her deposits of coal are enormous and of untold millions of dollars in value. Building stone equal, if not superior, to the best Cottonwood Falls limestone of Kansas, and Longmeadow freestone of the East, is found in abundance. The supply of asphalt is practically unlimited. Although largely a prairie country, the river bottoms are filled with valuable timber, while in some portions are large areas of pine. The entire country is well watered by the Grand, Arkansas, Canadian, Washita, and Red rivers. In the northeastern portion the streams and brooks are as clear and limpid as in northern New England or Michigan or Colorado. The rainfall is usually so plentiful that a drought causing a loss of crops seldom occurs. The population is estimated at 465,000, of whom 400,000 are whites—intruders, who have no legal right in the Territory. There are many towns, some having a population of 5,000, and claiming twice as many; towns provided with electric light, fine hotels, large business blocks, and elegant residences. No one has a legal right to the house or lot he occupies. It is merely a title of occupancy, not of possession, and yet real estate agents thrive as they do in the States. There are six lines of railway, running daily 24 passenger trains and a large number of freight trains. The country is beautiful beyond description, and its resources, the development of which has scarcely begun, are almost beyond comprehension. I traveled in and near the Indian

Territory over 1,300 miles by rail and 300 miles in a carriage in the country, at a distance from railways. After having traveled for days over the beautiful prairies, along the river bottoms in the midst of heavy timber, among the coal mining towns, over mile after mile of fenced pastures, dotted with thousands of fat cattle, by fields of corn and cotton almost boundless in extent, I understood full well why the white man was here in such large numbers.

The Indian in the Indian Territory will soon be a "man without a country" unless the United States steps in to aid him in the preservation of his domain and the maintenance of his property and political rights. The land, grass, timber, coal, etc., are nominally, and originally were, common property; but if you are looking for some marked instances of "Wealth against Commonwealth," come with me to the Indian Territory, and remember when you enter the Territory that all of this vast domain, with its tremendous natural resources, belongs to the Indian, and that this property is all held (theoretically) in common. But whom do you see? White men, white men everywhere. The scarcest object is an Indian, and this in the Indian Territory, set apart by solemn treaty obligation for the Indian. You see here and there large gangs of men cutting, curing, and pressing hay and loading it into freight cars for shipment to Kansas City and Chicago. You hear the sound of the woodman's ax and the crash of the lord of the forest as he falls to the ground, and anon the whirr of the saw and the hum of the planer and other machinery preparing the timber for use in the States, where it finds a market. Now and then you pass a long line of cars heavily laden with coal. Here is a string of coke ovens. Yonder a stone quarry or a vast deposit of asphaltum is giving employment to busy hands. Then you come to square mile after square mile of fenced pasture, with innumerable herds. Here in the rich Arkansas bottoms is a field of 100 acres of cotton, and another of 100 acres of corn. The cotton will yield a bale to the acre, and the corn 50 bushels or more, and all this without a pound of fertilizer. The bottom is 3 miles wide, and the soil black, deep, and rich. This property all belongs to the Indian, but it is white men who are cutting and shipping his hay, white men who are felling, manufacturing, and shipping his timber, white men who are mining and shipping his coal, white men who are handling his stone and asphaltum, white men who are harvesting the corn and cotton from his rich acres, white men who are pasturing his beautiful waving prairies and shipping the fat herds to the stock yards of Kansas City and Chicago. It is the white man who is omnipresent. The common Indian is well nigh an alien in the land of his fathers. He is *rara avis*—about as hard to find as an Irishman in Ireland or a Yankee in New England.

As all these extensive operations are illegal, it may be interesting to see how this condition of affairs was brought about. The territory occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes was ceded to them by the United States more than sixty years ago. It was to be held in common, and for the equal benefit of all the Indians of these tribes. The land, the grass, the timber, the minerals, were for the common use of all. They could not be bought or sold. Among Indians, as among other races, there are men more able, more scheming, possessing in a greater degree than others foresight, business ability, and selfishness, and a greater desire for money. Such an Indian would say, "This tract of land, miles square, is mine." Some white cattlemen agree to fence it and pay the Indian so many hundred dollars a year for a term of years. In some instances an enterprising citizen—a citizen either by birth or marriage—has in this way taken possession of a large tract, fenced it, and stocked it with cattle. The legislative bodies have established rates of royalties to be paid into the national treasuries—a quarter of a cent a bushel on coal, \$1 a thousand on logs, 50 cents an acre on hay, to be paid to the Indian claiming the right to cut the hay, and 20 cents a ton as royalty. A certain sum yearly is charged for the "permit" to occupy a residence or business lot in town. All these operations are plainly illegal and in violation of solemn treaty rights and obligations, which provide that the land shall be the common property of all the Indians; and each tribe, respectively, is a party to the treaty as much as the United States.

The extent to which monopoly has been carried is alarming. The common, everyday Indian, honest, quiet, shrinking in his nature, and as a rule living by himself, away from the town and railway, is being crowded to the wall. Young men are bitterly complaining, as they ride over the wide pastures of the Indian and white cattle barons, that the land is all taken up and they can find none upon which to make a home and start out in life. In one nation there are 3,000,000 acres of land and 1,300,000 acres are controlled by 61 individuals. The following would be amusing were it not alarming, because of its truthfulness. Some twenty years ago there came to the Territory a white man from a neighboring State, whom we will call H. H. Carbon. He wooed and won a dusky maid, and thereby became a citizen of the tribe to which his wife belonged. He was bright and shrewd, and saw and seized his opportunity, and has become during these two decades a man of property and influence. A few months ago an entertainment was being given in one of the towns in the coal-mining district. The well-known farce, "The district school," was the feature of the evening.

When the teacher called the class in "jogryfy" she asked who could bound the Choctaw Nation. Johnnie raised his hand, and as soon as recognized jumped up and said, "The Choctaw Nation is bounded by a barbed wire fence, with H. H. Carbon inside of it." The laughter that followed showed that Johnnie's reply was the sentiment of the community.

I have given this instance because such an incident will indicate the exact condition of affairs much better than the statement of a person consciously or unconsciously (but necessarily) colored because of his personal interest in the continuance of present methods, or the pathetic plea of a paid Indian or white attorney before some committee in Washington, who pretends to be so concerned, when before Congress, about the welfare of the common Indian and the fulfilling of solemn treaty rights and obligations. The weeping attorneys are pulling at the teats on one side of the Indian's cow and the monopolists on the other side, and when the milking is finished they get together by themselves, drink the milk, curse the Dawes Commission, and laugh in their sleeves at the Indian, who takes care of the cow and keeps the rack well supplied with fodder.

When I asked a white man in the Seminole Nation to give me a definition of an Indian of the present day he promptly replied, "An Indian is a trustee of the title to the land in the interest of the white man." He thoroughly understood the situation.

The record of corruption and crime, as given by the Dawes Commission, I firmly believe. I thought it incredible when I read it, but I have paid special attention to these two points, and do not hesitate to say that the picture has not been overdrawn.

To one who only looks on the surface, the statement of the Commission, that life and property are insecure and official corruption is common, would seem untrue. At first I found it difficult to get people to talk. But after a while, when I made known that I was a representative of the Indian Rights Association and that I was after the truth in the interest of the Indians, and upon my personal assurance that I would not in any way use their names or localities, the evidence came, and it is evidence from reliable sources.

A permit for a railway to go through one of the nations was obtained only after paying money. The council in session wanted \$30,000, but the railway attorney finally got it through for \$7,000. The innocent reader need not think this money went into the National Treasury.

An Indian who can not get credit was appointed as a judge. He will not pay his bills and is a general deadbeat.

The boodle business is denied only by the delegations who visit Washington. When the Dawes Commission first reported and stated they had failed in their attempts to negotiate, they were twitted about not coming down as the railway syndicates do.

Money will buy admission to the citizenship rolls. An Indian woman told me that upon her return she paid \$200 to get her name put upon the roll, from which it had been stricken because of several years' absence in the States. An official told her that she had gotten through the lower house all right, but it would take \$200 more to get through the upper. She declined to pay the money, and will put her case into the hands of the Dawes Commission, who will see that she has justice.

A company was organized to run a railway through two adjoining nations. There was a provision in the charter granting the corporation every alternate section of land on either side of the railway for a distance of 6 miles through the richest coal land. It would have given millions of dollars to the railway; but when the common people of one of the nations heard of it through work done by the Dawes Commission, they said if this provision was retained in the charter they would repeal it with their Winchesters. It was necessary for the two nations to agree. Only one had acted, and as the other failed to agree on account of the powerful Winchester argument, the railway corporation did not receive a present of a magnificent setting of black diamonds whose estimated value was \$10,000,000.

An Indian was eloquently pleading for the rights of the poor common Indian, but upon investigation it was found that he was at that very moment himself controlling 8,000 acres of land.

A reliable white man informed me that 15 men control, in one of the nations, 1,000,000 acres of land.

An Indian judge stated that he could get the chairman of the citizenship application committee to call a meeting of the committee by paying \$20 if he had plenty of whisky, otherwise \$50 would be necessary.

The method of paying the large sum of money received from the sale of the famous Cherokee Strip was corrupting and demoralizing in the extreme. There are nine districts in the Cherokee Nation, and a payment was made in each district. It is common talk, that nobody pretends to deny, that the Cherokee officials having the payment in charge, agreed to locate a payment at Vinita, a bustling and thriving town, if the citizens would pay them \$2,500. After much hard hustling the sum was

collected and paid over to these unselfish and patriotic citizens of the Cherokee Nation. A payment was accordingly located at Vinita, accompanied by its inevitable train of evils. At another place of payment the sheriff rented the court-house for immoral purposes. The upper floor was given up to gambling, and the lower (where gathered Indians, negroes, low whites, and lewd women) to drinking, carousing, and fighting. After two nights the lower room was closed up, complaints were so numerous; but the room above was kept running. Gamblers, fakirs, 200 lewd women, from each of whom the sheriff collected tariff, and thugs generally, camped for days a few miles from this place of payment, and strove in every possible way to get the money paid the Indians. When the sheriff was remonstrated with for the wicked course he had pursued, he said: "Well, the present order of things is not going to long continue; the land will be allotted and the form of government changed, and I am going to make as big a haul as possible." A prominent Cherokee, a man of intelligence and refinement and who loves his people, said with reference to these payments, that the loss to his tribe in moral status could not be overestimated. "It was simply appalling. It would have been better for the Cherokees if they had never received this money. Nothing can compensate for the loss of a woman's honor."

In one nation three families control 30,000 acres of land. In some instances a poor man with a large family has to get along with a few acres; in some rare instances, 6 or 8. Almost everybody is preying upon the country. Very few seem to be praying in it, or praying for it. I met, in the Cherokee Nation, a bunch of horse traders, so called, but really a bunch of deadbeats, living off the Indians' country. They would camp a week in one place, and then move to fresher pastures. There was a nondescript company of 24 human or inhuman white folks—or would have been white had they been clean—of all ages and sizes and of both sexes. They had 6 wagons, 12 work horses, and 30 trade horses.

In one of the nations there is an organized association, the object of which is to obtain citizenship for its members. Large numbers of intruders have joined this association. The head of the association assesses the members, and he makes a fine thing out of it. He has his salary and Washington expenses. He poses as the great factor in securing the creation of the Dawes Commission. But the Commission is looking after the interest of the Indian, while the association is trying to rob him. I rode some distance with a full-blood Indian, who said there was corruption everywhere. He thought allotment would be best if the Indians could be protected and the land secured for them. He did not understand, until I told him, why the Commission was in the Territory. He thought it was there to get the intruders on the roll of citizens. This is one of many instances that might be given to show how persistently and relentlessly the Commission is misrepresented and maligned.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

ADDRESS BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Mr. Meserve has relieved me of very much which ought to have been said about the Indian Territory, and in a much better manner than I could have done if it had been left to me.

The Dawes Commission (as it goes by that name in the Indian Territory), when it was announced to them that they were about to be investigated, were glad enough to find into whose hands it was committed, for they felt that they would be safe in the hands of anyone so intelligent, so faithful, and so persistent in pursuing the right as Mr. Meserve. I will say for myself that, although investigation sooner or later overtakes most public men, it did not reach me till rather late in life; and I must confess that when the charge was made that I was lacking in respect to the rights of the Indian I rather took it to heart.

I shall devote myself for the little time I have, entirely to trying to relieve those people who were properly enough sensitive at the idea that something was going to be done by me, and by those associated with me, to violate the treaty rights with the Indians.

I think that a stranger studying the character of our country would hardly be surprised at anything so much as to be told that there was in this country, under the common Constitution of the United States, and under the same flag that floats over its Capitol, still another people, claiming under this very authority an independent power to govern and control itself without regard to the Government or laws of the United States. If he should seek further for the reason, for the authority under which such a claim of independence is based, he would be puzzled far more to find either reason or authority in the Constitution or in law for such a condition of things. He might wonder how it could be, how it were possible, that there could be carried on here any imperium in imperio; how there could be another nation within this

nation, yet independent of it. He would want to know why it came about, and by what authority it could be built up by, or under, or through the same Constitution. If he sought it in the fact that it was a small community that had grown up incidentally, and of so small relative importance that it did not matter anything, he would be mistaken, for it has a domain of 31,000 square miles—four times as large as the State of Massachusetts, and two-thirds as large as this grand State of New York. Ten Rhode Islands and Delawares put together could be placed inside of it, and still there would be room.

If he should inquire whether it might not be because of the peculiar character of the people in this independent Territory he would still be mistaken. Since I have been in public service I have voted upon the admission into the Union of thirteen or fourteen States made up exactly of such a community as this is. The two States of Dakota were one Territory made up of whites and Indians in almost all respects like this. The State of Minnesota, the State of Wisconsin, the State of Utah, the State of Nevada, the State of Oregon, the State of Washington—all of these States were made up exactly of the same kind of community and people. It was not for that reason.

Was it because there are but few of them? Well, of these thirteen or fourteen States there was not one that had as many inhabitants in it when it became a State, after it had gone through the pupilage of the Territory, as are now residents in the Indian Territory, a population of from 360,000 to 370,000.

Can anyone give a student of our institutions any answer why it is then that, of all the territory in the States we have in the Union, there has been left this one, neither a State nor a Territory of the United States, with no State or Territorial government at all, inside of this Union, at the same time under this Constitution and this flag?

There is no answer to this question in law or in the Constitution, much less in the possibilities of continuance. It grows out of the belief of a large portion of the people of the United States that somehow and in some way they have bound themselves to let it be so; the belief that the United States has abdicated authority over this people. If it is really and rightly so, it is to be respected and adhered to so long as public safety will permit, and no longer.

I respect those people who sent Mr. Meserve to the Indian Territory. I respect the sentiment that became anxious and solicitous lest we should be at work violating the treaty rights of these people. But I for one am unable to come to the conclusion that we ever did, or if we ever did we had the power to, abdicate our authority over any 1 foot of the territory governed by the Constitution and flag of this country. I am happy to be able to believe that I shall show you, from the books, that we never attempted to do that, and I want to say to you that if we had, it was beyond the power of this Government under the Constitution to do it. The Constitution is the measure of the power of every branch of this Government. The Constitution says this and this only about the territory of the United States, "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States."

Congress must make the rules, Congress must govern the Territory. No other authority exists in the Government to govern or control any foot of the territory of the United States outside of the District of Columbia except what I have given you, which requires Congress to do one of two things; make all needful rules and regulations concerning it, or else dispose of it, one or the other. They did dispose of this Territory. They granted the titles to these lands to these people for a purpose; but the rules and regulations concerning it, the government of it, they not only never did sell to them, but they never could have sold if they had undertaken it. Mark you, it is Congress that must do this. The Congress of the United States has never attempted to do this. Whatever was done was in a sort of treaty not made by Congress, but made by the Executive with these people as if they were a foreign nation, and there was not a jot of authority in the Constitution for them to set up a government over a portion of the people of this country that shall be independent of the United States.

But they disposed of the title to the land, and for what purpose? They conveyed the title to these nations for the benefit of the nations. Was it that the nations could sell it and dispose of it and make money out of it? Did the nations take it as you and I take a conveyance of sale? Not at all. They put it in the hands of these nations as trustees for each and every one of the citizen Indians. It is not worth while to go back of 1866, although the original arrangement was made seventy years ago, before this people had any idea that there could be such a thing as individual ownership by an Indian. That is why the title was put in the tribe or nation for the use of the Indians and not in the individual Indian. Land in severalty is a revelation of thirty years afterwards. They took these people away out into this country, which was then six or seven weeks distant from civilized life, to make an atonement for the wrongs inflicted upon these nations in the States from whence they took them. They said to them, "You may do as you please out here."

At the time of the civil war these Indians went to war with us, and they broke up by this the relations which had existed before 1866. After the war the United States and these so-called nations made new treaties and established new relations. Afterwards it came to be revealed that the way to advance civilization with Indians was not to isolate them, but to put them on their own feet—to make individual citizens of them.

Every one of these treaties made since 1866 contemplates two things—first, that they shall hold this land strictly for the use of each and every Indian, share and share alike; and, secondly, they provided that the old system should pass away. It was provided that whenever they chose they might take land in allotment, and the United States would survey and allot the land for them at its own expense, and that whenever they chose they might establish Territorial government and legislate upon subjects prescribed, whose scope and limitation depended on the approval of the President, subject also to the Constitution and laws of the United States. Provision was also made for United States courts in the Territory, post roads, post-offices, and United States mails and railroads under the United States laws—a perfect surrender of autonomy, if it ever existed. Then they stipulated how the land should be held.

From a single treaty made with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, who held their land jointly, I read as follows. The same thing is more or less clearly expressed in all the treaties of 1865–66:

REVISION OF INDIAN TREATIES.

[Page 276. Lines 12,278–12,287.]

‘Treaty of June 22, 1855, with Choctaws and Chickasaws.

“And pursuant to an act of Congress approved May 28, 1830, the United States do hereby forever secure and guarantee the lands embraced within the said limits to the members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes, their heirs and successors, to be held in common; so that each and every member of either tribe shall have an equal, undivided interest in the whole: *Provided, however,* No part thereof shall ever be sold without the consent of both tribes, and that said land shall revert to the United States if said Indians and their heirs become extinct or abandon the same.”

That is what the United States solemnly guaranteed they would do; and when they do that and restore to every one of these poor Indians his equal share in every foot of that land and in every one of those coal mines and of those vast possessions, the end has come. Those who hold power there will unloose their grasp and have no further interest in opposing any proposition that will bring these tribes into harmony in their own relations and in their relation to the Government of the United States. That is what this Commission has been importuning the United States at one end and the Indians at the other to do. That is what those who hold the power to gather the fruits of their iniquities, grasping them with greed into their pockets, have resisted to this day. This Commission has asked for the violation of no treaty obligation, however questionable might have been the power to enter by treaty into any such relation. They ask that these treaty stipulations may be enforced. They were charged from the beginning to say to these people, “We want none of your lands; our desire is that you shall do this yourselves.” Every word that we uttered was taken down in shorthand and reported to the President of the United States. Of every communication we made to them a copy was sent to the Executive. In every one of them it has been made plain that we were there to present to them the reasons why this condition of things, so graphically reported by Mr. Meserve, could not continue in the midst of these people and in the midst of this Government. It is our conviction that this condition grows worse and worse every hour that it continues. The courts all around there are filled up with trials of men for murders committed in the Indian Territory. One judge, who has been there ten or fifteen years, has sentenced something like 100 men to be hanged for crimes committed in that Territory. There is no description that can compare with the reality, and it was our duty to impress upon them that a change must come, and we showed them the way. We showed them how their fathers in 1866 contemplated the having of this land in allotment. We have not troubled ourselves about the Territorial government or about their becoming a State in the Union. We knew full well that the moment they took their land in allotment and each one had his own possessions and came to know the value of his own home all the rest would follow. He would be for having a government, law, and protection, and he would become a part of the United States and of the citizenship of the States like all the rest. That was our duty, and we have adhered to it.

I am glad to say to you that the light is breaking in upon them. The Congress of the United States imposed new duties upon this Commission last winter, after being convinced that we had not violated any of the treaty rights of the Indians and that

we were not departing from the path of justice. They imposed on us the duty of settling forever this question of citizenship, and there are now pending before the Commission that are to be decided by the 10th of December the final judgments of the Commission upon 7,300 cases of claimants for citizenship in that Territory. They see that the end is coming. The men who have the grasp there begin to see that they can not tell where they will be when the end comes, and they propose to try the experiment of negotiating with us now. At this moment the Choctaw Nation, which a year ago came within one vote of passing a law making it treason to negotiate with us, has this fall at its election chosen a chief in favor of allotment. The Creek Nation, which has upon its statute book a law making it a penalty of death to petition the United States for a change of their government, have appointed a commission, at the head of which is General Porter, whom all the men who have had anything to do with Indians know. Even the Cherokees, bound up more than any of them in the grasp of these men who have taken everything that is valuable, have appointed a commission to confer with us; and stalwart Bushy Head, who was relegated to private life from the chieftainship some five years ago because he was in favor of allotment, was the man appointed at its head. It has been impressed upon them that the Congress of the United States is going to take this matter in hand if they do not choose to do it themselves.

But suppose they have an independent government now! Who made it? The Government of the United States made it, and if the Government of the United States made it, it can unmake it. While the property conveyed to these people is a vested right that can never be taken from them, the political status is not a vested right. There is no political condition that is a vested right in this country. It is constantly being changed by the power that made it, and the power that made whatever independent authority there is there was the United States, and the United States has the power to resume it.

Now, there is another way out of this. These nations hold their title—as I have read to you—in trust, for the use of the people. What have they done? They have misappropriated the trust; they have taken that use from the whole people, and have put it in the hands of a few for their own private use, and what is plainer in a court of equity than that when a trustee violates a trust he may be removed?

There are many ways out of this, not only to absolve ourselves from attempting to violate treaty obligations, but to take to ourselves some credit for enforcing the right. It is in behalf of the poor Indian despoiled of his heritage, not of the white man, that we were sent down there, and it is in behalf of the Indian that we plead to have his possessions allotted to him either by his own act or by the Government of the United States or by some court in equity.

I ask this conference, at whose hands those at work for the Indians have received so much support in times past, to understand that you have approached now what seems to me the most important of all the questions that confront you. Here is this vast Territory, belonging to 54,000 Indians, less than one-fourth of whom have any participation in it. All the others are driven off. I appeal to you in their behalf. Set them in the possession of their rights, and then the remedy will be worked out after that. Give them, each one of them, what belongs to him, and he will see to it that what is necessary under the laws of the United States he will have.

Dr. LEMUEL MOSS. If I understand it, the United States in conveying this land no more alienated its authority to legislate there than when conveying a quarter section to any individual.

Mr. DAWES. Precisely. I do not suppose the conveying of the land conveyed the right of government. It is a distinct, separate right. The soil I may own, but I have no right to govern myself because I own the soil. The Indians claim that, in addition to the conveyance of the land, the power of government was abdicated to them by the United States.

President GATES. Our whole treaty system has regarded the Indian as a foreign power. That is a humbug which is giving way gradually.

Mr. DAWES. It has been forbidden by statute, and is no longer possible.

Mr. WELSH. It may be desirable to explain why the Indian Rights Association undertook the work which was carried out, and has been reported by Mr. Meserve. I want to say first how heartily and completely I concur in all that Senator Dawes has said, and to remove any impression that that investigation was undertaken in anything like a hostile spirit. It was not. I was absent in Europe last spring, and upon my return to Philadelphia I found that one or two members of our committee had become somewhat disturbed over this question of the Indian Territory, and had taken the view that possibly the rights of the Indians were being overlooked and disregarded. I stated to them what had been the general attitude of the association from the beginning, and what had been the views of such men as General Armstrong and Mr. Painter, and that the whole condition of affairs there was an anomaly which must come to an end soon, and that although I had not followed the movements of the Commission recently, I had no doubt their work was in the line

of that idea. But this feeling was strong, and had to be met. A number of newspapers had taken up the question, and had attacked the position occupied by the Commission. A gentleman connected with the Philadelphia Press had made statements that the allegations of the Commission as to the amount of crime existing in the Territory were not well founded. I felt that an investigation made by a perfectly fair man might be of value. I suggested that we send someone out to look over the whole field and report as to the actual state of the facts; that, while my general views were what I have stated, it might be well to look into the matter. I did not send our general representative, Mr. Leupp, because his views were clearly like mine. I did not wish to send anyone whose mind was made up in advance. I looked over the list of suitable men, and thought no one could be better than Mr. Meserve. I knew of his experience, of his entire fairness, his high character in every way, and I asked him, on behalf of the Indian Rights Association, to undertake this work. He did it, and has made the report, the substance of which has been read to you, and which, I think, has had a marked effect upon the minds of those who have heard it.

Mr. SMILEY. I presume many of you have been flooded with reports hostile to the Dawes Commission, scattered by men interested in the preservation of the present condition of things. A great deal of money has been expended in collecting testimony against the Dawes Commission and circulating it over the country; and they have inveigled many prominent men who did not understand the situation, and who feared that treaty rights were to be violated, into putting their names to statements which are not correct. These hostile reports have done no harm except where people did not know the facts; there they must have done harm.

General EATON. It is in the interest of these 300,000 people who are preying upon the Indians in the Indian Territory to send out these documents assailing the Commission. They emphasize the idea that the Commission proposes to break faith with the Indians. "We are the faith-keeping people," they say. But we have seen here this morning that the proposition of the Government, of the President, of Congress, and of this Commission is to keep faith with the Indians. It is a movement in favor of the sacredness of treaties and the sacredness of human character and of those great rights and privileges for which this Government exists. My thanks are tendered to those gentlemen, and to Senator Dawes especially, for showing us this. There has been an attempt made to have the country believe that they were trying to get rid of treaties. No, no; it is an attempt to execute treaties, and I feel deeply grateful for having it shown that these gentlemen aim to keep the treaties solemnly made with these people.

Bishop WHIPPLE. I desire to make a practical suggestion. Those who pity and love the Indians know that Senator Dawes is the last man that needs an apology for any of his work. But there is one fact of which I am sure the great body of the American people are entirely ignorant, namely, that these Indians forfeited all of their rights when they engaged in warfare against us during our late civil war. They were received back into treaty relations under entirely different conditions. That is the very crux of this whole matter. Now I propose this, that the business committee shall prepare a statement, embodying what has been said by Mr. Meserve and Senator Dawes, and put it into the hands of the friends of the Indian, that they may use it where it will do the most good. Familiar as I am with Indian wrongs, I have never had my heart more deeply stirred than in listening to Senator Dawes and to Mr. Meserve; and from my heart I can only say, God be praised for raising up such men to do his work.

Dr. DENNIS WORTMAN. Senator Dawes says the National Government has made each Indian nation trustees for the individuals of that nation. When the present Government methods in the Territory are overthrown, will the present proprietors of mines and those who hold property there be dispossessed? Will all the land be divided among the Indians? If so, what becomes of the proprietors of industries located on these lands? Will the retirement of the national trustee affect the rights conferred by the trustee before his retirement?

Senator DAWES. The whole matter is full of difficulties and perplexities. Take the mining interests. There are millions of dollars honestly and fairly invested in the coal mines by outsiders. A law was made that any citizen Indian who would discover a deposit of coal should have the exclusive use of a mile all around it, with power to lease it. So they went to Pennsylvania, where there are experts in coal mining, and got these experts, and then went out and told these Indians where to discover coal, and they discovered it and leased the land to capitalists. The Indian never could mine coal alone. It requires hundreds of thousands of capital, and this capital has come from Pennsylvania and elsewhere and been invested honestly in these mines. It would be rank injustice to destroy all that property. It has got to be the work of negotiation and equitable disposition. The lands belong to all the Indians, not to the half dozen who have discovered where the coal mines are. The same is true of the town sites. Large towns of 5,000, 3,000, and 2,000 inhabitants

have been built by the whites on the land of these Indians, and vast sums of money spent upon them. I can not tell you how it shall be adjusted. I only say to you what I have said to these men, "We will sit down with you, and we will try to work out a solution of this question that shall be not only just to you Indians but just to those men whom you have invited here and who have invested their capital in your work." All the southwestern country depends on those mines. Millions of property are involved in the question. How it shall be settled I wish I knew. The Commission is trying to make secure every man's rights in that Territory.

Captain PRATT. If those who have charge of it will provide me with the matter and will send me lists of names, I will publish Senator Dawes's address on this subject, and distribute it without any expense to this conference.

Mr. MESERVE. In my full report I go into the solution of this problem according to my ideas, and append a copy of the Curtis bill, introduced by Mr. Curtis, which passed the House, and was before the Senate when Congress adjourned.

President GATES. A Government that brought so many States through the period of reconstruction can safely be trusted to work its way through this difficulty.

Dr. FISHER, of Pittsburg. We can let our sympathy go to the innocent white men who have gone to the Indian Territory. That is part of the problem. It may be very difficult; but I think that side of the question might be emphasized. While Bishop Whipple is undoubtedly correct, I believe the whole question rests upon the argument which Senator Dawes has made, that there has been no disposal of the power of the United States to control that Territory. It rests with the Constitution. It is not because they have engaged in civil war. It should be kept before the people that we are not breaking treaty rights, but enforcing them. The power of this Government over every portion of this Territory was settled by the civil war. It was settled for the Indian. It was settled for the South. We must keep that before the country. But in regard to this great question which incidentally arises in the minds of men, we must keep also this thought, that there are innocent men who have developed this property; and while the real estate may be of benefit to the Indian, we must consider it in the way of what it would have been to him if it had not been developed. I do hope this Commission will go on, and that there will be allotment of land, and that we shall get rid of this state of affairs.

Mr. GARRETT. While confessions are going on, I wish to say that I was one of those who were very desirous for light on this subject as to whether any treaty has been violated. I feel deeply grateful to Senator Dawes for his very able and powerful exposition of the subject this morning. He has shown that under the Constitution of the United States the treaty-making power had no authority to surrender the sovereignty of the United States, and that occurrences since have completely authorized and legalized the action which is now proposed. I feel quite satisfied with his statement of the case. Not only has the fact that the Five Civilized Tribes having entered into the Confederate service during the war placed us in new relations to them, so that our old treaties were set aside, but the trust has been so violated that there are now separate grounds for the proposed action. I repeat, I feel grateful to Senator Dawes.

Rev. Dr. H. A. STIMSON. The Government of the United States is itself a trustee. In all its legislation back of the specific act lies the recognition of the sacred trust that it shall always do that which shall tend to the permanence and safety of the nation, and it shall only do that which is in the interest of public morals. These two primary conditions underlie every act of this Government, and they are indisputable. As a result of the action of this Government in the past, there has arisen a condition which is only a concentrated condition of that which has existed in all Indian tribes—described by the word "impossible." Three times in our history we have found ourselves in that condition—once in regard to slavery, then in regard to the Mormons, and now in regard to the Indians. We hesitated in regard to slavery. Men were deterred by fear of violating a constitutional right and ignoring those conditions which lie back of all law, those which grow out of the condition of safety and public morals. At last we were compelled to break through all the meshes of intricate legislation in order to create a system of government, a condition of government, under which the nation could live, and we did it. Practically we have done the same thing in regard to Mormonism, and that is exactly the condition in regard to the Indian Territory. I lived for some years not far from the Indian Territory. A friend of mine who was there said that again and again he had been compelled to spread his arm over his wife and child and hold them in bed, lest, if they sat up, they should be struck by the shots fired from the street by drunken men, who wanted to drive them out because they represented religion and education. Such a condition of things is impossible. Any man who lived in the West when the Cherokee Strip and Oklahoma were opened must recognize that, no matter what were the treaties, any legislation which would put the people under conditions in which such scenes could occur must be wrong. When these conditions assert themselves, no matter what the word spoken is, no matter what the act of the Executive

has been, it becomes the duty as well as the right of a Christian nation to wipe out impossible conditions and to create conditions which make possible civilization, the safety of the Government, and the maintenance of public morality. Because of this, I believe the time has long since come when the friends of the Indian ought to ask that every right and every privilege demanded for any Indian as an Indian be set aside that he may ask every right and every duty required of him as a man. When we do that we are on a firm foundation.

The next address was by Mr. Herbert Welsh.

INDIAN AGENTS—WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THEM.

[Address by Mr. Herbert Welsh.]

I think that in approaching this subject perhaps it would be well for us to remember the general conditions which brought about the agency system. I will endeavor to sketch those as I saw them, and I think that perhaps the great majority of those present will agree as to the general facts expressed. We must remember that the Indians by the gradual occupation of their country were brought into a state of greater and greater friction with the whites. Constant conflicts ensuing, it was found necessary to limit them to reservations. This was a necessity at the time from which it would have been impossible to escape. The game was rapidly disappearing. It was necessary that a great majority of those who had subsisted upon the buffalo should be temporarily fed some other way. These people were entirely separate from us in every respect. They were in the condition of the primitive people of the stone age. That represented a high state of civilization which was flowing all around about them, and pressing upon them in a way which would have been utterly destructive. So the creation of the reservation, the evils of which we have clearly seen, was a necessity. It was necessary that some definite line should be drawn for a time between various Indian tribes and the surrounding people, otherwise they would have been destroyed, as we see even now in some instances is the case while the system is being abandoned. It was necessary to keep them from liquor, from the broils and troubles which spring up between them and the whites; so that we may look upon the reservations very much as the temporary nursery of the Indian. It stood to the Indian for a given period as the nursery stands to the child. A nursery is a good thing for awhile, but we do not keep our children there indefinitely. That, I think, is a fair analogy.

Now, how is the Government to be represented upon this area of territory, which seems to me precisely like an island completely surrounded by a sea of white civilization? What are we to do? We have put there a representative of the Government, an Indian agent. We have given facilities for missionaries to do the work there in trying to build up the character of the Indian. We have introduced a school system which is reaching a very high organization as compared with its condition twenty years ago, and for which we are spending a large sum of money. We have, then, these various forces of civilization working upon the Indian within the limits of the reservation.

The next most necessary thing to do was to ask the Government to introduce a system by which its employees might be persons of the best intelligence and personal character, so that the enterprise undertaken by the Government might be successful. We therefore asked that the merit system might replace the spoils system in the Indian service. We recognize the reservation as only temporary, and I for one think that in reviewing the past history of the Mohonk conference some of us have been disposed to exaggerate and overemphasize the real difference which existed among the friends of the Indian on that subject. I do not think there were any friends of the Indian who anticipated holding the reservation as a permanent thing. There were persons outside who represented this view. It was maintained by such men as Dr. Bland, of Washington, and others, who did feel that the reservation should be permanent, that a wall should be built up between the white man and the Indian. But there were no friends of the Indian known to me—and I will refer you to our reports—who took that view, that it was to be a permanency. We recognized that that sea of white civilization was beating on the shore of these island reservations, and that the reservation was bound to diminish and disappear. We asked from the beginning that the Indian's character should be built up by the Church getting hold of his heart and life, that his knowledge of industries should be built up by his being taught to cultivate the ground, and in other ways that he should be strong enough to stand when the change came. We hoped that a better class of Indian children would be brought up who should go to our great Eastern schools. I think our conception from the beginning was a system which would use the reservation simply as a temporary nursery, with the idea of getting rid of it as soon as we could adopt a system which would get rid of it.

You will remember how this conference was in favor of breaking up the great Sioux Reservation, and stopped the first effort to sell half of it for inequitable terms, and obliged the commission charged with that duty to sell it equitably; and how, with our cooperation and help, that great reservation has had about half of its territory taken from it. We looked upon these reservation schools and the Eastern schools as mutually helpful. We never anticipated any antagonism in these two lines of work. It was, after all, the same work which was going on in various localities, the great Eastern schools dealing with as many children as they could, giving them the higher training and better knowledge, then sending them back under circumstances which were decided in each individual case to lift up the remainder of their people.

We felt that it was necessary to break down the old spoils system by which each party used places among the Indians and in the service generally as spoils. We worked hard for the introduction of the merit system. Finally we got it. We got at first 700 school teachers and superintendents brought under that system, so that those who were placed in these positions should not be selected for partisan reasons, but for fitness to do their work. I think everyone will have to acknowledge that, whatever faults there may be in the details of that system, it is infinitely better than it was before. It is far better that a teacher shall be appointed not because Senator So-and-so desires it, but because he is capable of doing the work. I think there is a great concurrence of opinion on that subject.

We have worked along on those lines, and now we have not only got the merit system introduced, but largely extended over the service. So far as we can look at the results, they are good and wholesome. The new method is opposed in many cases by persons who have gone in under the old system, and sometimes new employees are made uncomfortable, but I think it is the general testimony that there is an advance.

In reference to the agent himself, we do not want a system built up which shall keep the agency as a permanency, with an agent whose power is maintained from year to year. We desire that, as the surplus lands are sold, as the Indians are brought to a clearer conception of civilization, the agency shall pass away. But, in the meantime, it is desirable to get good agents who shall, as quickly as possible, bring the Indian to a degree of civilization at which he shall be able to do without the reservation. How are we to do it? We have shown that we are able by asking the various Presidents to act upon the general principles of civil-service reform; to adopt the merit idea in practice. That means that they should not turn out an agent because he has been put in by the previous Administration. If an agent is doing good work he should be supported, and if he is not doing good work he should be turned out. We desire that he shall be a good, faithful man while there. That is all we ask. We ask that they shall be appointed according to the spirit of the civil-service reform. We should be very thankful to Mr. Secretary Hoke Smith for a great many advances in that direction. There were several cases where he retained men who were put in by his predecessor and several cases where he reappointed men who had been turned out of office. Major Steele, I think, was one. So there is a recognition of that principle. I do not see how we can depart from those general lines. This is not the enunciation of a new policy. It is the steady pressing forward of the old policy for which Mohonk has always stood.

Take the speeches made yesterday and the facts brought forward by such speakers as Miss Collins, Mr. Young, Bishop Whipple, and Bishop Gilbert. I think those speeches show the great moral work which is going on in reservations, which is going on in those sections of country where the Indians are kept by themselves, so that we may feel that most valuable work is being done there. How is it to be continued? By studying the facts of the cases as they come up; by following up our regular policy; by keeping our hands very carefully on the facts as they develop; by getting a sound, true theory; by looking on the reservations as a temporary necessity, but one that can not be altogether dispensed with at present with safety; by following the idea that surplus lands should be sold. I should like to see them sold as fast as possible.

Another important thing that we must do is to prevent the destruction of the Indian through the selling of fire water, the "devil's blood," as the Delaware Indians used to call it.

Then the work on the reservation should have a definite relation to the work which is being done in the East. Captain Pratt told us last night that a large number of his pupils had to be sent back. He regretted it honestly and truly. But that is the great fact that we have to face. If it is true that they have to be sent back for one reason or another, then we must try to make these reservations while they last as good as possible, so that the returned Indians who go to them shall have a chance there. How? By keeping in close contact with them, by finding out their difficulties, by taking up the little difficulties at which Miss Collins hinted, and by systematically trying to remove them. It is an evolution, not a revolution, that must be looked to to take the reservation out of existence.

I think when the new President comes in that the way in which we are to carry forward the civil service idea in the appointment of new agents must be very largely by public opinion in favor of reform. That is the most powerful means. In all the ways open to us we must go to the new President and say to him, "Now, those who call themselves the friends of the Indians have built up this degree of civilization in the treatment of the Indians and they have created a certain structure of public sentiment, and we ask now that the goodly edifice shall not be destroyed." I do not believe anyone will dare to destroy very much of the edifice which has been built, and we must press upon those lines. I think in this connection, there is no new policy that should be formulated. What is needed is a certain radicalism on conservative lines. The different sections of the work must be brought into closer relation. Let us do our work harder with the old tools that have proved serviceable.

Dr. Hailmann has written that there is an increasing union of sentiment between the Eastern and Western schools. He is the representative of the great advance in the Indian work. His report will produce a great impression on your minds. You will feel that it is the report of a very wise, thoroughly trained man with a deep knowledge of human nature seeking to take the newest appliances for the civilization of the Indian. Notice one of the things he has done; that is, to bring the Indian schools into closer contact with the whites. Wherever those schools have been lifted up to a high enough plane to justify it, he is trying to bring them under the care of the educational institutions of the States in which they are. Do you not see how the question is continually in process of solution, and how many of those difficulties are melting away, and how these people are being gradually brought into closer connection with our national life?

This is nothing new. It is like the gospel. The interest of the gospel of Christ lies in the profound wisdom there is in it. The more we study it the more we find that it has in it all the conditions of human life. We are inspired by that wisdom; led along those lines. These are the lines which we should follow out. Let us follow them to their conclusion. Let us not only say that the reservation is to be broken up, but let us put fire, and spirit, and life, and thought, and hope, into the whole machinery of the Indian work, conserving what we have got and asking the new President to keep that and give us something more to boot. That is the way in which the island reservation shall be merged in the general commonwealth sea which beats about it.

Mrs. A. S. QUINTON. I want to indorse what Mr. Welsh has said. He has epitomized the sentiment and work of the Indian Rights Association. Just that spirit and line of work has been that of the Women's National Indian Association. Because we were women some have thought that we must be sentimental. When we sent our petition asking for land in severalty, for education, and for citizenship for the Indians, in 1881, we did it with the object of destroying the reservation system. That was the impulse and prayer under it all, to destroy the system by giving individual property and the individual holding of land to the individual. You remember that measure did not become law until 1887. The idea is now with all workers for Indians that the reservation should be destroyed, root and branch, at the first safe moment. I believe that it could be done in a few years; sometimes I have thought in three, sometimes in five; but I do believe it could safely come soon if the constant change of agents among Indians could be avoided.

We rejoice unspeakably in the harmony of the views of all friends of the Indians. It does not always look harmonious as to methods, but the ideal toward which all move is the same. All believe that the Indian is a man; and our work is all in the line of helping him to cease being an Indian that he may become wholly a man. The work of our association in every part of the country from Maine to Florida has been on this line.

We have not done much school work as an association, because we believed the Government could and would do that, but we have done some in destitute places. One of our schools we have just turned over to the Government because it had outgrown our financial ability. It had 41 boarding and 40 day scholars now, costing \$4,000 a year. Its work goes on under the same superintendent; and it is, as before, a Christian school, and it teaches citizenship as well as industries, and is doing just such work as you have here heard about from the missionaries, the churches, and the industrial schools. It is doing the same kind of work that is done in the schools in the East: as, for instance, in that noble institution at Carlisle. Not on so grand a scale, of course, not with so grand and broad a success, but on the same lines, because the grace of God is everywhere in the hearts of Christian teachers, and the work of his children meets everywhere like results. We here are all working toward the same ends and with the motive of doing away with the reservation system at the first possible safe moment, in order that all Indians may, as soon as possible, become United States citizens and Christian citizens.

Mr. ALFRED HARDY. The school at Fort Defiance never succeeded because of continual strife between different factions on the reservation, between the agency employees and those connected with the school. This will continue, in my opinion, as long as the agency remains where the school is. The character of those about the agency does not improve the tone of the school. The men are often profane and loose in the presence of children, and it is almost impossible to keep the children from loitering around those places where they hear the sort of talk that you would be ashamed to have your children listen to. It is my hope that in the future the Government will remove the agency to another part of the reservation. There is a place about 15 miles north where it will be more central for the people. It will necessitate drawing supplies 55 miles instead of 30, but it will get the children out from under the influence of bad surroundings. As to agents, I believe that the Indians have more respect for the missionary men than for the civilians, but I believe it requires a man of the best capabilities and of high moral principle and sterling qualities in every way to be an agent on that large reservation, which is as large as Massachusetts and Connecticut together. It includes the Moqui Reservation, which is 90 miles to the west. The Government allows the agent but one clerk, which requires the agent to be on duty almost continually, and he has no chance to get out on the reservation and study the different camps and know the conditions of the people or what is best to do for them. He has to be at his desk from morning till night and sometimes till 10 or 11 at night. The best people that he has to help him so far as the education of the people is concerned are the field matrons. The field matron is an excellent adviser and counsellor. The field matron is the right hand of the agent. She it is who understands the condition of every location within 50 miles, and she will take ten times as much interest in it, and will make twice as much effort to find the best conditions as any farmer will. I believe she will teach more farming, too.

I should like to say a word in regard to the distribution of tools and instruments. I hoped that Commissioner Browning would allow the agent, through the field matron, to distribute to the people in her immediate vicinity the necessary tools that were needed by those people. He said it could not be done because the field matron is not a disbursing agent. She was well qualified to distribute them, and could have done it at a saving to the Government. They are doled out helter-skelter, some getting what they do not need and others fail to get what they do need.

Rev. Mr. TURNER. I spent eight weeks with the Indians this year, visiting some of the Northwestern tribes, the Oneidas, Santees, Winnebagoes, Omahas, Crow Creeks, and others. I came back very much encouraged by what I saw. It is true there was much that I wished had been different, but many of the things that I saw that were wrong were not always the fault of the Indian.

I was encouraged by the work that the Government schools are doing on the reservations. There has been great improvement in the past few years. There are better buildings, and they are better equipped; there are better teachers, and the system of teaching in most of the schools I have visited emphasizes the importance of the use of the best methods. The parents are now glad to bring their children to the school. There was a time—and not very long ago—when the agent, in order to get the children into school, was obliged to withhold the rations from the family. That is no longer necessary. For not only are the children brought promptly on the opening day, but the Indian is taking a pride in his reservation school and its improvement, and at the same time appreciating more what it means to send his children to such advanced schools as Carlisle and Hampton. I was glad to find in one of the schools a large dairy which is managed and worked entirely by the Indian girls who are taught to make butter and cheese, and to take the proper care of the milk and the cream. No machinery is used, so that when they go back to their own homes they can do just what they did at the school. The good results are already seen. Some of the homes have their own dairies and are making their own butter. This means a great advance.

At Crow Creek I saw that the Indians were making efforts to support themselves. The Government has built a large flour mill there, equipped with modern machinery. The agent, Dr. Fred Treon, promised the Indians that if they would cultivate their acres and raise wheat he would buy it of them at a good price, grind it at the mill, and issue it back to them in flour instead of purchasing the flour from outside. This has greatly encouraged them to till their land. This year the agent has bought 7,000 bushels of thrashed wheat from them, paying them 50 cents a bushel. They are invited to visit the mill and examine the process by which the wheat becomes flour. The agent also told them that if they would raise cattle he would buy them; and this year he will purchase 100,000 pounds of beef from the Indians, paying them in cash. Now, what do the Indians do with this money? Many of them are using it in the improvement of their homes; in buying farming implements that the Government does not supply; in providing their wives with sewing machines. Some have bank

accounts. When you can get an Indian to be thrifty, industrious, economical, and saving, you have done a great deal for him.

This is a reservation where the ration system is continued. It seems to me that what the Crow Creek Indians need is to have this ration system given up. If not all at once, then a part each year, till they are rid of it. Many of them have shown that they are able to take care of themselves, and others are equally able. Give them a few more cattle, fence the reservation so that the cattle will not stray away, and the Indians will not need our flour or our beef, and their manhood will be the better developed.

Among the Winnebagoes I saw much to make me sad. The chief purpose in all education is to make true men and women. The head and hand can not be educated at the expense of the heart. Character building is the supreme thing. The Winnebagoes need heart culture. Not long ago the Omahas were among the most advanced Indians. They were pointed out by the friends of the Indian as those who gave us the most encouragement. But to-day it is not so. When they were in this hopeful condition, missionary work was in full force there; but they began to decline just as soon as the missionary work was withdrawn. While I appreciate the good work accomplished in the reservation schools, and what the Government is doing through its officials in the interest of the Indian, yet I believe that the progress of the Indian is largely due to the indefatigable labors of the men and women who have gone out there to establish the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I can not tell you how I have been impressed by the returned students, who have come from schools where Christianity has an important place in the life of the pupil. Those of us who visit the reservations and see things just as they are, must admit that there is a painful element of truth in the charge made of returned students going back to the blanket—which generally means the vices of the white man—and yet I have found that very few of them were Christians. These young Christian returned students are almost invariably lights in the community and in the household. They are in sympathy with the missionary and his work, and are always ready to aid the agent and school superintendent in furthering any good work. They are willing to talk with you and to act as interpreters. They stand ready to receive and help the students who are returning.

Christianity brings ideas to the Indian that the school can not, though the school may be Christian. This is seen particularly in the treatment the wife receives from the husband. She assumes a new place and new duties.

The Indian is a proud man. This is a noble quality. But when it is not properly trained and governed, it makes him a selfish man. The unchristianized Indian needs instruction in humility and self-sacrifice. He has not learned the meaning of "Bear ye one another's burdens." He thinks too much about himself; and one who thinks of himself only, soon forgets principles of righteousness and loving kindness. Teach him that there is something better to think of than himself; something better to live for. Teach him to live for God, and to guide his life by the law of Jesus Christ, and his advancement is assured.

Miss COLLINS. Our Indians are perfectly capable of raising a large amount of the cattle killed for beef and issued to them; but the Great Father in Washington does not think they are capable of killing them, so the cattle have to be driven a long distance to be killed and dragged about over the dirty ground, and then hauled back to their homes. This is the work of the Government, which helps to keep them like little children. If an Indian can raise beef, he ought to be intelligent enough to butcher it at home. Let the cattle be issued once in three months on foot, and let each man be responsible for his own beef. The Indians are now far enough advanced to take this responsibility, and they would be kept at home by this means, instead of staying around the agencies, which is now most demoralizing.

Mrs. CLINTON B. FISK. Chaplain Turner recalled to my mind a question which is asked me often by the members of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, whose servant I am, "Which would you do, educate or Christianize first?" My reply invariably has been, let them go hand in hand. I never turn my feet toward this mount of generous hospitality and of the widest justice to the downtrodden, but I wish that I might be able to say to you what the women of my society are trying to do for the Indians. But they are trying to do their duty as in the sight of God. And they are not only doing their duty by the Indians, but by other downtrodden people. An allusion has been made to the way that the Fourth of July was spent among Miss Collins's Indians. Our missionary women in New York spent the Fourth of July in superintending the actual scrubbing of the bodies of the Polish women and children who were held at Ellis Island. I feel that I am only their steward; but I pledge to you my own fidelity in missionary work and the fidelity of the Methodist women who honor me with their chairmanship.

Judge CHARLES B. HOWRY, Assistant Attorney-General. My estimate of the value of the noble work of this association is so great I will respond to the invitation to

offer to you a few suggestions which I think may be of service respecting the protection of Indian funds. My connection with the care of these funds is official, and began three years ago under a law that threatened the complete destruction of the funds of some of the Indian tribes and the serious impairment of the funds of nearly all of the tribes, including the civilized nations of the Indian Territory. This law provided for the payment of the depredations of Indians upon the property of white men, and is known as the Indian depredation law. In its inception it was unjust in that it was not reciprocal in its operation. As intended originally for passage, the bills introduced in Congress contemplated that, for all acts of spoliation upon the property of the individual citizen by the Indian and the individual Indian by our citizens, that suit might be brought against the Indian tribes and the United States for the depredations of the Indians, and suit might also be brought in favor of the tribes against the United States for the depredations of white people. This scheme was not carried to final passage. After a most interesting debate in the Senate, participated in particularly by the New England Senators, that clause of the bill providing for the payment of the Indians for the depredations of white men was dropped, and the bill, as finally passed, provided for the payment to citizens of the United States for all acts of spoliation upon property committed by Indians after an adjudication by the Court of Claims on suits authorized to be brought by the act of Congress.

After the passage of this law nearly 11,000 suits, aggregating, in round numbers, \$44,000,000, were claimed from the Indian funds. The great question immediately arose whether Indian tribes were liable for what individual members of the tribes or bands had taken or destroyed in time of war, and whether the law merely contemplated provision for payment for the trespasses, robberies, and thefts of individual Indians in times of peace. This question has been in the courts for several years. Innumerable side issues have sprung up along the lines independent of these vital considerations. Many technical questions have also arisen; but it affords me pleasure to say that since last winter, after litigation participated in by several thousand claimants, the results have finally been determined in the Supreme Court sustaining the views of the Department of Justice, thus disposing of probably 5,000 of the claims against the Indians, aggregating perhaps \$22,000,000. The Supreme Court, Justice Brewer delivering opinions, decided that the depredation act of Congress meant only the trespasses, robberies, and thefts of individual Indians, and did not apply to acts of taking and destruction in time of Indian hostilities. So far so good. But amendments are now pending to this law, intended to evade the decisions of the Supreme Court in the test cases which have settled the meaning of Congress. It may well be understood that, in the pressure for judgment in so many cases, I have necessarily been obliged to be like the Irishman at the Donnybrook Fair, ready to hit anything in sight; and so much so that a distinguished Senator, in a spirit of friendly interest, once informed me that if I undertook the defense of depredation claims, and pursued the policy that I had mapped out in their defense, a conspiracy would rise up to break me down. I am still here, however; nor have I been broken down for merely discharging public duty according to law.

I am an executive official, and therefore not in position to offer advice to Congress. But I think I can with propriety tender some suggestions to this association which may be of value respecting the protection due to the annuities of the Indians.

In the first place, the law as I have stated, is partial in its operation. In the second place, it is a law that admits of great imposition in the provision for the payment of stale claims growing out of transactions occurring many years ago. Without entering into particulars as to the vigilance to be applied to the defense of claims so old, I may state that upon one occasion I happened to have my morning correspondence before the House Appropriations Committee which brought me information that an assistant in California reported that he had taken a stage ride 150 miles to ascertain facts with reference to a little claim for \$2,100, with the result that he had scaled the amount to \$600, and along with the same mail brought me another report upon a claim which probably disposed of a demand for \$60,000. These instances of imposition, however, ought not to affect the speedy determination and payment of just claims for the depredations of Indians; for there are undoubtedly many claims essentially just and proper under the law as it has been construed, and I have earnestly endeavored to arrive at the truth in each case as it has arisen, and acted accordingly. But the United States should furnish means enough to put competent workers in the field for the purpose of examining every claim on the spot. More time and means should be used to investigate for the defense. If this association will give its attention to the legislation of Congress which threatens the integrity of Indian funds for depredations occurring from twenty to fifty years ago, such attention may do the Indian tribes much practical service. Undoubtedly there has been, and will continue to be, criticism against the Department of Justice for the vigorous defense of these claims, and I am not unaware that I am under constant criticism on this account; but when I leave this field I hope to leave behind me at least something

useful to people who have none to defend their rights but those assigned to this duty by the Government.

Bishop WHIPPLE. I am glad to have a chance to perform a duty that I should like to have performed years ago. The person whom I have in mind was one whom I dearly loved—one not of the Episcopal Church. At the time that General Grant divided the Indian agencies between the different religious bodies, as we had the only mission among the Ojibways I naturally expected that we should have the appointment of an agent. I was informed, however, from Washington that the American Missionary Association had asked that they might have the agency of Minnesota. When President Grant sent me that word I said, "I am perfectly content to give up our claim." They appointed Rev. E. P. Smith. Naturally, being of another communion, I watched him, and I know more of his administration of Indian affairs than of any Indian agent in the United States. If there ever was a faithful, devout, earnest disciple of Christ it was E. P. Smith. Accusations were brought against him and I defended him. When persons suggested that I had better not put my head in chancery I said I should be ashamed of my manhood if I hesitated a hair's breadth to defend a Christian man of another communion because it might bring me into trouble. I was in Baltimore, something of an invalid, when all these accumulated troubles were heaped on the head of E. P. Smith. I telegraphed him that I would go to Washington to see him and say good-bye, but I was not well. Upon that he came over to see me. As he entered the room he threw his arms round my neck and kissed me, and said, "Bishop, till God calls me home I will pray God to bless you because you have defended me against false accusations. They have stolen my character, and I shall die with a broken heart." He went to my uncle, Rev. George Whipple, and said, "I have been falsely accused of that of which I was not guilty; give me something to do." And my uncle said, "The only work we have at this time is to send a special agent to Africa." And he went there and died of the fever. As there are those here who loved him and as a cloud has rested over that name, I tell you here in the sight of God that I honestly believe that a truer, more faithful servant of the Indian was never employed in this country. I am glad at this time to bear my testimony to one who has gone to the other home.

I wish to say one word more. My good friend, whom I love as a brother—and thank God that there is a Herbert Welsh to fight these battles—has spoken with reference to the appointment of agents. From my own experience I can say that personal appeals to the President are the best ways in which you can secure what you want in this matter.

Adjourned at 1.25 p. m.

FOURTH SESSION.

THURSDAY NIGHT, *October 15.*

The conference was called to order at 8 o'clock by Mr. Smiley, in the absence of Dr. Gates, who had to leave. On motion of Mr. Smiley, Mr. Philip C. Garrett was elected president for the remainder of the conference.

The subject of the evening, Education, was then taken up, and a summary of the forthcoming report of Superintendent Hailmann, an advance copy of which had been sent to the conference, was given by Mr. Welsh. As the report can be had in full by applying to Dr. Hailmann, the abstract is here omitted.

Mr. Smiley said that he hoped some effort would be made to secure the reappointment of Dr. Hailmann.

Miss Scoville was introduced as the granddaughter of Henry Ward Beecher, and was asked to speak ten minutes.

Miss SCOVILLE. I am sure all the teachers who attended the conventions this summer would indorse all that has been said of Dr. Hailmann. His work was broad and strong, and each one of us felt that we had received individual help in our work.

This is my first Mohonk Conference, and I came to listen, not to talk; yet, when your chairman asked me to tell you something about my summer among the Indians, I thought I had something to say. But I have learned as I listened that all that I have learned this summer you have learned long before.

There is only one thing that I think I can tell you something new about, and that is those Sac houses Mr. Leupp mentioned. I thought of them when one of the speakers yesterday said that often when we are discouraged it was because our own plans were failures, and we should remember that they are of no importance save as they build character. I believe that those houses stand for character. Let me tell you the story as I learned it on the reservation.

After the Black Hawk war the Sacs were removed into Kansas. And one party, called the progressive party, stood for the white man's plans; and the nonprogressive party, the Foxes, as they were called, stood for the old way and claimed that from the white men they got nothing but vice—that to be a white man's Indian was to be a bad Indian, and to be a good man was to follow the Indian way. That was the

worst period of our Indian policy, and they were right in their opinion. They left the tribe, purchased the land in Iowa with their own money, and went there to be good Indians. They rejected the white man's house, the white man's dress, the white man's civilization, the white man's God, and the white man's vices. How have they succeeded? They have lived surrounded by white people, but they have lived as Indians. They have supported themselves, receiving but little money from the Government; they have lived carefully, and have worked hard in their way, making mats and baskets, weaving, and working in silver. To-day there is one white house, and that is a log house that was built by the Government for the interpreter. For twelve years there has been a mission among them, but there is not one Christian on the reservation. Why? It is the policy of that mission, so one of the gentlemen told me, not to learn Sac, because it encourages the people not to learn English. But English these people have rejected, and therefore they have no gospel. Their houses, which they have been forced to build of boards, they build as high as the gables; but, rather than make white man's houses, they make the gable ends in the old way—of mats and bark. It was not because it was too hard work to make them of boards. They are willing to work, but they are not willing to imitate the white man. And they have rejected the white man's vices that they said they would reject. It has been said that because they are surrounded by good whites there was no liquor. They have had good agents; but the white men told me that these Indians themselves give up to the law any man who sells liquor on the reservation. The family relation is preserved. They boast that there is not a half breed under 50 years of age in the band. They earn their living as Indians; they dress as Indians; they speak as Indians. As Indians they stand and hope to die. One of the greatest Indian workers said to me that the Tama Sac Reserve was the most discouraging spot on the face of this earth. It is discouraging, but can we not utilize the character that is held there? Is it discouraging to find that the Indian has the character to stand that way? Can not we use that character for civilization and religion?

Dr. JAMES M. KING. It has taken many years to discover that the same process by which you can convert an Italian or a Scandinavian, or any immigrant who has come from a monarchical form of government, into safe citizenship must be applied in preparing these natives for loyal citizenship. The only power that will transmute the dangerously heterogeneous elements of our population into a safely homogeneous citizenship is the free common-school system of education. I believe this to be true so far as elementary education is concerned, and I believe we are learning the lesson that under the leadership of Christian men and women the instruction which we give to our common citizenship in the Government schools is accomplishing this end. Apply the same methods to make a good citizen of the Indian that you apply to make a good citizen out of your own child, and you will be successful. Instruct the head with proper intellectual teaching and instruct the heart with the teaching of the Nazarene, and you have solved the Indian problem.

Secretary C. J. RYDER. The first time I went out to the Indian Territory I saw a man so peculiar in his dress that I should like to put him before you. He was typical of the condition. He had on buckskin moccasins with ornaments of beading and buckskin leggins. Round his tall figure was a close-buttoned Prince Albert coat which had shiny seams, like a minister's coat. There were holes in his hat and he had eagle feathers in one of the holes. He walked down the street with great dignity, and I saw him plunge into an open door of—a Christian minister's house? No. Into a public school? No; into the open door of a saloon. In that Indian Nation which we were trying to bring out of barbarism there had been planted this institution of hell, and over it floated the Stars and Stripes. I was once abroad when I saw the dear old flag fluttering, and I went across the street and stood under its shadow. How much it meant to me in that foreign nation. And the memory of the days of the war came to me and my heart filled, and my eyes. But I confess to you, Christian friends, that when I saw the flag indorsing and permitting that awful iniquity in the Indian Territory I was almost ashamed that that flag was my flag.

In the first place, we must save the Indian from the evil influence of wicked white men. This is so self-evident, and has been said so many times, that it has become commonplace, and yet it is the nub of the whole question. After I had made a visit to several Indian reservations some months ago I was walking down the streets of Boston and met one of the editors of the Advertiser. He said to me, "How is Mr. Low getting on?" I answered, "Mr. Low would get on a good deal better if Mr. High would let him alone." The protection of the Indian from systematic outrages perpetrated by the Government through corrupt agents is increasingly effective. The failure still, however, to get decent legislation to keep him from the encroachment permitted under our white man's Government is gross and startling.

I was in Washington at the last meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and I can not get the impression out of my mind that was made on it when there came from the Ponca Agency that aged Indian, La Flesche. He stood there and pleaded that Congress should pass the bill to prevent the sale of liquor to his people.

I remember his opening sentence: "I am an Indian, but I am also a man. Firewater corrupts and degrades me, not because I am an Indian, but because I am a man." It was a disgrace to us that that bill was not passed.

In order to bring the Indian into civilization we must civilize Congress and the white men who come in contact with him.

But again, we must remember also that the Indian is an important factor in the Indian problem. He will never become a white man, and it may be better that he never should. The racial peculiarities of the Scotch, the Irish, and the English are distinct and definite. Each retains his own peculiarities when he becomes a part of our body politic. This is not weakness, but strength—political and sociological. The same is true with the Indian. He must be treated physically, mentally, and morally as an Indian if we would better his condition. I have been much interested in studying certain psychological facts and questions concerning the Indian. What is the content of the Indian mind? What does the Indian child bring to the school before he begins the study of books? What has the Indian learned as a race during his wild and wandering life?

It seems to me, in the first place, the Indian must be to some extent a logician. The logical faculty may be assumed. As a race, he has been reasoning all his life from effect to cause. When hunting or on the war path, he must determine from the footprints of the animals or men certain facts concerning those that made them. Is this moccasin print in the sand of the river that of a friend or an enemy? Which way was he going—to an attack, or was he fleeing? This has been a constant process in the mind of the Indian during centuries. We can assume, then, that the logical faculty, at least in embryo, exists in the Indian's mind.

When I was at Oahe the last time, a young lady was to go to the East (an Indian girl), and it seemed to us that it would be well to have her recite an address which she proposed to give in the East. So she stood in the little chapel before us, and her opening sentence was not unlike that of the Indian in Washington, "I am an Indian and I am a Christian." In dealing with these people and providing them a system of education we must recognize that they are Indians, and we must do all possible to develop that already possessed by the Indian mind.

Then, again, we must develop and not crush the nobler moral instincts planted by nature in the Indian heart. I can not see how it is possible by force to take children from their homes without violating the love of the Indian mother's heart. This is a natural, moral instinct. Parental love is perhaps the highest that exists in the untutored mind, planted by God. It can not be rudely treated without irreparable loss to the Indian. The violent and rough way in which agents and others have forced children from the Indian teepees and trampled upon the love of parents have not been civilizing forces, but those making for savagery. Compulsory education of red and white children we all believe in. The methods that I have seen adopted, however, in Indian homes have been enough to stir the blood in a frozen heart. Our Anglo-Saxon race would have risen in armed opposition to the methods sometimes employed by Government in getting children from Indian homes if such methods had prevailed toward white people. That this parental love is deep and abiding in the hearts of the Indians, no one familiar with them can doubt.

A pathetic illustration of this came to my knowledge when I was at our American Missionary Association hospital some time ago. A Christian woman was the physician there. Among other patients was a little brown Indian baby, very sick. The doctor took me into the ward where it was and showed its condition, and told me that there was no hope for the poor little fellow—that he was going to die. "But," she said, "we can make him more comfortable while he lives." As she talked with me about this baby, which was in her arms, I heard a rustling at the window, and there, pressed close up against the panes, were two brown faces, a man's and a woman's, the parents of this little baby, and it was their only child. They had brought him into the hospital that he might recover from his disease, and they had planted their tent outside; and there they had heard the moaning of the baby and had come to see what was being done for him. It was their brown faces that were looking in. The doctor said to me: "Don't you think that when they see this baby tucked away in its nice clean bed, I can go out to them in their tepee and tell them better of the Great Physician, who came to heal not bodily diseases alone, but soul disorders?" We have got to appeal to this natural instinct of maternal and paternal love, and not crush it out in dealing with this great problem.

It has been most delightful to hear from dear Bishop Whipple during the sessions of this Mohonk Conference, and I have been almost converted to the Episcopacy. I am positive that the doctrine of apostolic succession is true and that the spirit of the beloved apostle has breathed itself into the heart of our honored bishop. As Bishop Whipple and his associate bishop told of the work in Minnesota during the many years that are passed, our hearts were thrilled, as they always are, with the account of that wonderful work. The element in it that most impressed me, however, was the generosity of the Indians and their frequent responses to appeals for

support and enlargement of the Christian work among their people. And this accentuates another natural instinct of the Indian.

The Indian is instinctively generous. An Indian woman in the old life would never keep two shawls. If she came into possession of more than one, she would divide with her more needy neighbor. Of course, we must develop the desire for possession, or "land hunger," as political economists call it. But, in doing this, we must not crush out this natural instinct of generosity. It is to be directed in wise and wholesome channels of civilization and Christianity. It is not to be annihilated. The occupancy of a certain amount of land in severalty by one Indian means the exclusion of every other Indian from the same holding. This is contrary to his tribal instinct, and violates his innate principle of generosity. Gentleness, deliberation, and great care are necessary, or we shall rob the Indian of his large-hearted generosity, and make him only a hard, grasping, selfish money-getter, such as are all through our country among the white men, and a burning disgrace to our race.

I am rejoiced to say that it is possible so to direct this natural instinct of benevolence as to turn it into wise and wholesome channels. Let me read you the contributions of an Indian church on the prairie, consisting of sixty-two members. This is the contribution of a single year. The church is made up almost entirely of Indians, with a few faithful missionaries sprinkled in. The following is the record of their yearly gifts: To the work of the American Missionary Association, \$246.07; to the American Board, \$76.26; to the Congregational Home Missionary Society, \$46.42; to the College and Education Society, \$15; to the Sunday-school and Publishing Society, \$13.75; to the Dakota Native Missionary Society, \$140.44; to Burrell Chapel building, \$15.09; aiding Bazile church, \$6.72; making a total of \$539.75. In addition to this, they contributed largely to their own self-support. It is a tremendous sacrifice for these Indians, who never have a dollar that they do not need, thus to pour into the Lord's treasury this magnificent offering. Prof. Frederick B. Riggs, who is following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather in his splendid work at Santee Normal Training School and on the prairie, wrote me of this fact; and it melted all our hearts in the American Missionary Association office as we read it. This record shows that this natural instinct of generosity need not be crushed nor violated. It may be turned into proper channels and prove of greatest blessing to the Indians as a whole in their noble struggle toward Christian civilization.

I sometimes doubt whether Army officers, who naturally look upon the Indians as a "subjugated enemy," can treat them with such gentleness and patience as are necessary to develop these intellectual and moral qualities which the Indians possess to the highest and best degree. I have witnessed so much that is harsh and rough and inconsiderate, not to say brutal, during the past twelve years, that I have doubted whether the Indian problem could be settled under such conditions. The problem before us in the Indian field is not to subjugate and dominate a terrorized people, but to lift up the ignorant and superstitious and pagan until they shall stand on the plane of intelligent citizenship and of Christian consecration, of pure, self-reliant manhood and womanhood. That this is being done through the quiet work and self-sacrificing lives of the missionaries of the various churches on these prairies, no one familiar with the field can doubt. A most interesting proof of the influence of Christian truth upon the dullest Indian mind came to my knowledge some months ago when I was West. As I rode over the prairie one day, an Indian reached up his hand and said to me, "How!" and weshook hands. I noticed that he had only a part of a hand; part was gone. It had been shot off in fighting on the pagan side at the battle of Wounded Knee. He lived in his village 75 miles from any Christian mission; and he had come out to hail us to see if we had anything that told about Jesus in the Sioux language that he could give to his people. He said: "I have found Jesus; and He is so dear to me that I want to tell the other people of my village about Him." God works along lines and in ways that we little dream of. His spirit had found its way over the prairie, and this soul had been born into the kingdom of God. With the earnestness and faith and love and joy of the new-born soul the world round, he was reaching out that he might bring his own people to see the same blessed experience. When this is accomplished universally, it is the solution of the Indian problem.

I have in my hand a preamble and set of resolutions drawn up by the members of the Dakota Indian Missions under the care of the American Missionary Association. A copy of them was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and is now receiving his attention. I desire to present them here that they may be referred to the committee on the platform, and, if it seem wise, the matters to which they relate may receive attention in the platform. The tenor of the resolutions is to urge a uniformity in the methods of keeping records of marriages among the Indians, and a demand for greater care on the part of the agents in the adoption of intelligent and honorable methods by them in granting divorces. I submit these resolutions to the conference.

I desire to correct an impression that perhaps was received by some who heard me last night. I have been asked whether I meant to say that I did not believe in the

outing system. I am heartily and entirely in favor of that system. I believe that it is an important factor in the solution of the Indian problem. But I know also that the great mass of the Indians are residing and will continue to reside for many, many years in the places where they now are; and, since they are there, the gospel of Jesus Christ ought to be sent to them.

The resolution was referred to the business committee.

Dr. FRISSELL. It would be a good thing for this conference to make an appeal to the Christian church to support missions. It is a shame that such work as Bishop Whipple's and that of the American Missionary Association are not better sustained. I am beginning to feel that it is not worth while for us to send back Indians into the West where there are no Christian missionaries and churches, nothing to help them to stand when they go back.

I have been very grateful for what has been said here. We have been helped through these days. I am glad of the unity that prevails here. I do not believe Mr. Smiley understands how much good it does us to be here, because he gives us a chance to look over the whole field and to understand our relation to the whole; and that is a grand, fine thing. We understand better what the other workers are doing, and can adapt our work to theirs. We learn to appreciate better what the bishop, and Miss Collins, and the others are doing in the West. If we do not appreciate the work of others, it is a shame. Hampton has always had the missionary idea. General Armstrong, who was born in the Hawaiian Islands, was the son of a missionary, and when he founded a school it was with the idea that the young people should go out not merely to live for themselves, but that they should be leaders of their race. It would not be possible in such a school and such a founder to have any other ideal than that the young men and women should be the leaders and teachers of their own people.

Now, we feel that, just as we have seen men like Booker Washington sent down to help the negroes, so we need to send to the West young men and women who shall be such leaders there. This is what the Indian race needs. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth waiting for the redemption of the sons of God. I believe that is what the Indian race is waiting for, to be led out of ignorance and superstition. The great thought at Hampton is to make men. We do not care so much about making scholars, but we want to make men who will stand when temptations come. And we have been able to make some men and women and send back into that Western country who have stood and who have become leaders to their people.

There are greater demands upon us now than ever before. We begin to feel that we must have better industrial and academic teachers than we have had in the past. We should feel grateful to God that he has raised up such a man as Dr. Hailmann. I have been at some of his conferences, and I have seen his grand army of teachers. They are earnest, thoughtful, faithful men and women. And he is calling upon us at Hampton, and on Carlisle, to furnish him people of the Indian race who shall be as good teachers as any of the white race. We have therefore decided on an advance normal course. Our training is not sufficient, and we mean this next year, with Dr. Hailmann's advice, to start this course so that we shall be able to send out well-trained young men and women, as good as any from the normal schools of the North and West.

We must have equally good industrial teachers. We must have Indians at Hampton and Carlisle who will become thoroughly trained mechanics, who will understand about physics and higher mathematics. We are going to open next month a trade school, the Armstrong and Slater Memorial Trade School, and we hope in connection with that to train these young men. We are also trying to make better agriculturists. We have 15 acres of land for an experiment station. We believe the solution of the Indian problem is largely in the cultivation of the land.

And most of all, we must give them training in the Christian religion so that when these Indians go back to the missionaries they may go as helpers. So we must have the spirit of General Armstrong and the devoted spirit of Captain Pratt in every one of these Indians.

I am now going to ask a young Indian to speak to you. He has learned the machinist's trade and has made a steam engine, a very excellent piece of work. He will tell you what he thinks of industrial training and what it can do for his people. I introduce Mr. Samuel George, a Seneca Indian from the State of New York.

Mr. SAMUEL GEORGE. I was born and raised in the western part of the State of New York, but the most valuable part of my raising was at Hampton. I went there a boy, four years ago, with little education, but if I live to see June I shall leave with a trade certificate. This will prove that I am capable of earning good wages anywhere as a machinist. Others have done it and I can do it too. There is Charles Dixon, who is working on the New York Central; there is another in a machine shop in Detroit. Others are in Massachusetts, Ohio, and New York. Working with the hands is one of the chief ideas of Hampton, and it is an idea that

every young man should have. To have a trained hand as well as a trained heart and head is a great thing for young people. When one enters a shop, at first it is discouraging, because we have to do the lowest and smallest things first. But that is the way, to begin at the bottom. When we build a house, we begin at the bottom and lay the foundations first. Why can't we Indians, with our quick eyes and skillful hands, be of some value to our country the same as any other citizen? Of course, if we seek to do our best, we can. The New York Indians who have graduated at Hampton have done well at trades and as teachers. Three have gone out West. One young man is drillmaster in one of the Government schools in Colorado. One young man is teaching in Dakota and another in Nebraska. None of these things could have been accomplished if Hampton hadn't trained them for their work. A great many people have wrong ideas about the New York Indians. They think they need no help because they have civilized surroundings. But they are badly mistaken. I was one of those Indians surrounded by civilization, and I know if I had not come away I should never have learned a trade—not because I was lazy, but because there was no trade that would make me of value to anybody. Now, I am going to stick to my trade and be a self-supporting citizen of the United States.

President Smith of Trinity College was asked to speak.

President GEORGE WILLIAMSON SMITH, of Hartford, Conn. I have been interested in Dr. Jackson's report of work in Alaska, and have read with great satisfaction that the natives have been treated as men. The Territory is of enormous extent, and a very large part of it is left without any courts or representatives of the United States Government. On the northwest coast a revenue cutter appears for about ten days in the summer, and the captain exercises such authority as circumstances call for. The rest of the year authority is unknown. There are mission stations up and down the Yukon River, at long intervals, and also along the coast, even above the Arctic Circle. The most interesting to me are those at Point Hope and Point Barrow. At Point Hope there is a medical missionary, who, with his associates, also maintains a school. The character of the instruction is rigidly defined by the circumstances in which they are placed. The children can not be taught farming, because there are only about six weeks in the year without frost; and only the surface of the ground, for a few inches, is ever melted by the summer sun. There can be no industrial training in wood or metals, because there are no forests and no metals in the neighborhood. Such simple industries as are possible have already been perfected by the natives to meet the necessities of their condition. The school work must be intellectual and evangelistic, not industrial. The children are bright and anxious to learn. From one of the schools I have seen letters written by boys and girls who had been taught only fifteen months which were expressed in better English than letters written by Japanese who had studied our language for eight years. Now, please remember the difficulties under which they labor. For half the year they have to study altogether by candles or lamplight, as there is hardly the ghost of a day for six months at a time. It is so cold that the thermometer is generally in the neighborhood of 60° below zero in the winter; and, with all the appliances that can be furnished, the discomfort is very great.

The chief difficulty arises from the fact that there is no Government officer there, and consequently no protection for persons or property. There are white men there—outcasts who have fled from the law—and they are free to plunder and maltreat the natives at discretion. A few years ago, one of these men taught the people to distill rum from the molasses which they obtained from the whalers in exchange for furs and whalebone. In a very short time, several murders were committed by the natives, who are naturally peaceable and gentle. These whites have also infected the people with loathsome diseases, which threaten to exterminate the neighboring tribes in a few years. A gentleman just returned from a visit at Point Hope reports that it is useless to maintain that mission, as there will be none to teach in less than seven years. The Indians in our older territory are almost in paradise compared with those in the dark places of the earth. But the spirit of Christ has moved one here and one there to go out from among us to seek and save the lost, and there, as elsewhere, the love of Jesus has touched the heart. In the simplicity of missionary work in Alaska, in its restriction to spiritual interests, the production of Christian character may be directly sought. The higher purpose is constantly kept in view. They have but little to hope for here; but they may secure in the end a better inheritance—even an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.

I thank you for permitting me to say a word for those noble Christian men and women who in the midst of comfort have remembered the Eskimos above the Arctic Circle, and gone forth in the name of the Redeemer to carry the glad tidings to those benighted souls.

Miss M. E. Ives was asked to speak.

Miss IVES. For seven years I have worked for Indians in my own quiet way. I organized the young people's department with the idea of instilling into them a love

of the Indians, that they may know them better and feel interested in them. I have often wondered whether I was doing more good for the Indians or for the white people. I hope I am building their character as well as doing something for the Indians.

From the first I have felt a great interest in the Government schools. I have been in close touch with them. Within the last few years I have taken to sending Christmas boxes to the Indian children. Last year I sent 8,000 Christmas presents to the Indian children in the schools. They went from all over the country—from 40 States of the Union. The young people have made sacrifices to get these presents, and they have packed them themselves, and so have come into personal touch with the Indians. They send directly to the schools, and hear from them in return. We have also furnished agricultural supplies and helped field matrons. If any one here can interest young people and would send to me for an address for a Christmas box I shall be glad to send it.

Question. What do you put in the boxes?

Miss IVES. I put in useful things; also games that they can use in winter during the study hour, which they are trying now to make a pleasant evening hour. I put in dissected maps, pictures, and books with simple reading. We also send dolls and knives and toys that children like. One lady said if I would send soap and combs, the children would be delighted.

Miss SPARHAWK. A few years ago I talked to a little Indian meeting in Cambridge. There were three Indians present, a young man and two Indian girls. The young man was working in Cambridge. He had been setting type at the University Press and the girls had been at a Boston school. I wanted him to speak, but I did not dare to tell him beforehand for fear he would have time to make up his mind and would not do it. So when he was called upon, he came up to the desk and looked round over the audience and the first sentence he said ran thus, "I am a Cambridge man." That man worked till his eyes gave out, and then he did anything that came to hand; but that was little, and he decided to go back to the West, where he had land. I have heard from him there. He has been farming and has built a house and is living on the outskirts of the reservation. An old uncle keeps house for him, and he raises vegetables of different kinds. They have had to watch to keep the bears from the corn, but he was hopeful and happy. He asked to have some papers, because he wanted to know how the Boston people felt about politics. I thought it might be a good thing to send campaign literature out there, and I asked the Republican Club to do so. The two girls were at the Boston High School. They were Carlisle graduates. The teachers were kind to them and they won the admiration and friendship of these teachers and of the girls in the Young Women's Christian Association where they boarded. The superintendent there said it was rare to find such girls as they were. They graduated at the school; and it would have delighted you to hear the applause as they came forward to take their diplomas. This acquaintance came about through the Indian library work which is sending reading to the Indians.

The Indian Industrial League has been established in the hope that it will lead Indians to help themselves. Not long ago there came a letter from two young Indians on the Oneida Reservation, one a graduate of Carlisle, and the other had been there. They were very anxious to do something for themselves. They wrote that they had an opportunity to buy a steam engine which could be used for the thrashing of wheat and running a sawmill; that they could buy it on instalments for \$1,000, and that if we would lend them money, they would pay interest. So the league has lent them \$75 for a year at 3 per cent. If they pay it back we shall have it for some other use. If not, they can probably have the use of it longer, but the wife wrote me that some days her husband had earned \$15. I ask you to help our league.

President Taylor, of Vassar, was asked to speak.

President TAYLOR. One of my theories of education is embodied in that vital word of Rousseau, when speaking of a youth, "To live is the profession which I would teach him." While it may be that our modern education may fail to produce better results, regarded merely intellectually, than the older education did, I think perhaps we may well ask ourselves, if nevertheless, we have not learned something in the direction of a broadening of theory that augurs well for the future. Our education formerly was often designed but for one or two or three professions. As we broadened our views, we came to see more and more clearly that not only the mind and spirit must be built up, but that the physical system also needs building; that through it are the gateways of intelligence. We have learned that if men are to be educated, we must begin with their hands. We must begin by training them industrially if we are to be able to educate their brains to the utmost. When we go to the West, which is pushing the best educational methods with more power and breadth than we are in the East, we find in many more schools than in the East this industrial idea underlying the whole scheme of the school. They are educating youth physically as well as mentally and spiritually. It seems to me strange that as we

go on there are still so many who keep believing that man is principally mind. We may be justified in scepticism on that point. Certainly boys are not principally mind.

I have seen Hampton; and the man who has seen that school with some attention has had a beginning of an education. I remember, too, at the great procession at Chicago which inaugurated the World's Fair, the most impressive part of the procession was that brigade of Captain Pratt's boys; and as they marched down the street splendidly drilled, but not with guns, bearing implements of all sorts of industrial pursuits, that the cheers rang out for them continuously. There was nothing like it in all that great procession. That struck the chord of the right idea of education. I am not sure but it is going to revolutionize our ideas of professional education. I ask whether we are right about the education of ministers and teachers, of those who are certain to enter professional pursuits? Are we wise to begin with anything but industrial training? The same question may be asked for the negro, for the red man, and for the white man. Begin by training their hands, teach them to see straight, to act with accuracy, and then there is some basis for a broader intellectual training. I believe that the greatest mistake that has been made in the education that has been so widely diffused among the colored people has been in the direction of forgetting this point. There has been a vast improvement, but a great mistake has been made in forgetting that there is no use in training these men as teachers unless they can be the industrial leaders of their people. That is the only way to lift up the race. It is the men who have trained their bodies first, and their minds and their spirits side by side with these—it is such men who have become the leaders of their people. In that sense intellect should be disciplined. The intellect which is cradled in a well-trained physique, finds its highest utterance in the expression of a well-trained spirit. The word of President Robinson, of Brown, recurs to me, "A disciplined intellect asks no favor but that of God."

Dr. WARD. One of the finest things and most hopeful things that have been said here was said by Mr. Frissell when he told us that he proposes to have at Hampton something more than a lower industrial education, higher normal instruction for the negro and Indian. I believe that we want industrial education, but we want also the higher education which will give us teachers. It will be a great error in Indian education if we conclude that their leaders must be white men; if we conclude that their best education shall be education which shall instruct the hand and shall teach them to be mechanics. Of course we want, just as far as possible, to bring them out from the old relations and their old connections into the great mass of our community. I have no doubt Captain Pratt is right, and we all agree with him. But so long as they are where they are, cramped and cribbed, cabined and confined by government, shut up in that way, it will be an unfortunate thing if we can not give them leaders who are of their own race; and leaders are always men who are trained not so much in hand as in brain. We want thinkers and scholars, men of highest education. Dr. Taylor is, no doubt, right in what he says about the physical education; and he is also right in his own practical way in the education of the brain. He is not conducting an industrial school. He is giving us leaders among our women; and Indians and negroes want leaders in the same way. I rejoice that Hampton is seeing that we must bring forth teachers with intellect, with cultivated brains. I rejoice when Indians get industrial training; but I rejoice a hundred times as much when they come to Harvard or Yale and prepare themselves to be of that class who make leaders; for it is the higher education, the higher culture, that always has force in the world. That is my doctrine.

On motion it was voted that the usual Washington committee should be appointed, consisting of President Gates, Mr. A. K. Smiley, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, General Eaton, and Dr. Ward, with permission to add to their numbers if necessary.

Adjourned.

FIFTH SESSION.

FRIDAY MORNING, *October 16.*

The conference was called to order at 10 a. m., after morning prayers, Mr. Garrett in the chair. Miss Collins asked leave to present to Mr. Smiley, on behalf of the Sioux, a stone pipe of peace.

Miss COLLINS. It seems to me very fitting, since Friend Albert has done so much for us, that we, as a tribe who were once considered the greatest warriors in the land, the Sioux, but who now are coming to know the blessedness of peace, should come to this conference bringing with us the pipe of peace which has been used in the council and in the camp and around the home circle in our Dakota land. Take it, Friend Albert, it comes to thee from the land of the Dakotas. I give it to thee in the name of our Indians, your friends and mine.

Mr. SMILEY. The world is full of surprises, and this is one of them. This pipe is a most acceptable gift, and I thank thee and the Indians who sent it. It is especially

appropriate as coming from them, for when I was appointed on the Board of Indian Commissioners, seventeen years ago, the first place I went to visit was this very Sioux Reservation on the Missouri River; and that is the place where this conference was born. We met there Bishop Hare, Dr. Williamson, Dr. Strieby, Dr. Ward, and others, and we had a three days' conference with the Sioux Indians. At that time I said, "Friends, all of you come to Mohonk." And so we started this conference. This pipe is made of a very choice piece of stone, and I shall value it most highly.

Mrs. KINNEY. I want to ask a question about the Narragansett Indians. They bring forward a grievance of two hundred years' standing. They claim that they have been cheated out of 130,000 acres of land. I do not know that their claim would have any standing in the court, but they seem to think it would. They tell me that they have had several lawyers looking into the matter who carry it a certain distance and then stop as soon as the money gives out. If any one here knows anything about the Narragansett Indians I should like to hear from such person.

Dr. Joseph Anderson, of Waterbury, Conn., was asked to speak.

Dr. ANDERSON. It is a great thing to be born late in the ages; we get the best of everything. And it seems to me a great thing to be born late into the Mohonk Conference for a similar reason. I feel that, while I have lost various things in not becoming acquainted with you heretofore, I am experiencing certain pleasures and novelties which you can not now experience. I came to this country in my childhood and grew up without the sense of having any special place in the world. I had neither brothers nor sisters, nor had I uncles, aunts, or cousins within thousands of miles. After twenty years I returned to my native land, the north of Scotland, and there I soon came to feel that I had a large place in the world by virtue of these connections. On this first visit to your conference I have a similar experience. I have been interested in the Indian question for twenty years. During this time I have met many who seemed to care nothing for the Indian, and few who had any great interest in him. I come here and I find hundreds whose interest in him is deep and abiding, and I feel like congratulating myself and them upon the work they have been doing.

My work has been on different lines. My interest has been largely ethnological and philological. I was directed to the scientific study of the red man through my connection with a society which proposed to divide up the whole realm of science and literature among its members, one taking one subject and another another. I chose ethnology as my special field, and it is interesting to me to look back and see how many things I have learned in this way, and how they have deepened my affection for the Indian. It was in an interview with an ethnologist, a good many years ago, that I heard of that man in California who prided himself upon a necklace which he exhibited, made of the teeth of Indian squaws, which he had knocked out of their mouths with the butt of his pistol. Do you wonder that this aroused in me a strong sympathy for the Indian?

It was in that same interview that I was told of certain white men (Christians, so called) who had placed pocket handkerchiefs in contact with the bodies of persons who had died of smallpox and had sent these handkerchiefs out among innocent Indians that they might become victims of the same disease. This aroused my indignation at white men's wickedness, and sympathy and sorrow for the objects of their cruelty. These things made a great impression upon me. I began to look into the Indian's history and life; and as I went on in my studies I could not but conceive a growing respect for a race whose achievements were so great—a race that had developed, for example, such languages as those of the American Indians. The Indian languages number not one or two but hundreds, some of them standing high in the records of the world's philology. A gentleman asked me at breakfast to-day which of these languages best deserved preservation. It reminded me of the little girl into whose home triplets had come, who asked her father anxiously which one of them he intended to save. I should hate to have any of these languages destroyed, but I suppose many of them must become extinct. The time will come when our only knowledge of most of the Indian languages will be derived from the text-books and translations we have made. When I hear such languages as the Cree, beautiful in its music, or the Ojibway with its elaborate verb forms, or that spoken by the Nez Percés, bearing the stamp of intellect, or the stately and classical Dakota, or the Mohawk with its sixteen personal pronouns, or the Mexican, which in its vocabulary spreads out like a great flowing river—when I think of these products of human ingenuity, it seems hard to decide which should be destroyed out of the world's knowledge. Let us preserve them as far as we can, and let us remember that the more diligently we explore them the more we shall be convinced that here was a remarkable people, a race which while the nations of the old world were busy with wars and tumults was trained in a quiet way by divine Providence on this Western Hemisphere for results which we have not yet begun to appreciate. So, too, when I look at a stone ax and know that it may have been begun by a grandfather, handed down unfinished to his son, and brought to completion after many years by his

grandson, thus representing in its symmetrical outline the work of two or three lifetimes, and all this done with a little stone hammer; when I remember that the Indians had no tools but tools of stone it brings before me the patient work of these people extending through the ages. We can not but have respect for a race that has come through such difficulties, physical and spiritual, as the red race has encountered, and we must feel that such a race has better things to come.

And when it ceases to require our philanthropic care it will still present itself as a subject for our thoughtful investigation. A vision rises before my mind which, if our worthy host be willing, may be realized at some day not very far off—a vision of a magnificent structure built of these mighty rocks, adorning one of these lofty hill-sides, substantial, fireproof, attractive in every way, containing within its solid walls a museum to match that of the Smithsonian Institution, and a library into which have been gathered the tens of thousands of books and pamphlets relating to the American Indians. That building will be known to all America as the Smiley Institute of Aboriginal Research.

Mr. GARRETT. This conference has under its care the legal needs of the Mission Indians of California. I will ask Mr. Davis to speak to us about that.

Mr. DAVIS. Ten years ago, after the return of Professor Painter and another member of the Mohonk Conference from an investigating tour in California, and on a report made here as well as to the President of the United States, \$5,000 was raised for the defense of the Mission Indians against the aggressions of the water companies and the landowners adjoining the reservations. That fund has been in use in the defense of the Indians since then, and several suits have been prosecuted and settled in favor of the Indians. There is still one suit remaining, brought by the owners of Warner's ranch seeking to dispossess the Indians there of their land and thus secure the control of water there. That suit has been before the Supreme Court for four or five years, having been decided in favor of the Indians in the district court and appealed. The claimants are wealthy and have sought to tire out the friends of the Indians, but we have not wearied yet and will hold the defense still. There is danger that by delay our witnesses, the aged Indians, will pass off the stage and we shall lose the advantage of their testimony, as it is claimed that this testimony shall not be received in the form of deposition; but we do not relinquish the hope that that suit will yet be determined in favor of the Indians.

There is another in which there is hope of a full settlement under a compromise. It is a similar case respecting possession and water. And there is still one other case which may cause us to go into court, which we are trying to avoid because the expense is too great. We have still \$518 remaining out of the \$5,000.

The agreement with our attorney on the Warner's Ranch Case was for a definite sum for the struggle until it should finally close, and there will be, therefore, no large claim on this remaining fund from the attorneys, but the court expenses on the Warner's Ranch and the new case will require this amount of money and possibly more.

Dr. Dreher, president of Roanoke College, was asked to speak.

Dr. DREHER. When I came here first five years ago I listened with fresh and eager interest. When I returned four years ago I wondered if I should be as much interested, and found I was. The third time I was even more interested, and so my interest grows. For twenty-six years we have had Indians in Roanoke College. Not very many have completed the course and taken a degree (only three), but a great many have taken the partial course. The first one went to Yale afterwards and is now a clergyman. Three years ago one was the valedictorian. Last year we graduated another who expects to be a lawyer, taking a post-graduate course. Several who have studied with us occupy prominent positions in the Indian Territory. We have been encouraged to believe that good work has been done for them in our institution. We feel a deep interest in the Indian question.

Mr. Garrett stated that Mr. Albert Smiley would be placed on the law committee in place of Dr. Austin Abbott.

Mrs. Quinton was asked to speak.

Mrs. QUINTON. The law proposed by Commissioner Browning was very important. It made it a penal offense to give or sell strong drink on an Indian reservation or to an allotted Indian or to an Indian citizen anywhere. It passed the Senate year before last, but last year failed. I suppose it is enough to say that all friends of Indians can help secure that greatly needed law by corresponding with, and earnest appeals to, our Representatives. It strikes me that is the place for real work.

There are two things specially needing to be done for Indians; first, to give them always the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, to help strengthen missionary work, and to occupy the destitute fields in order to get the leverage that lifts in all right directions. Then we must help to control legislation by correspondence with those who represent us in the Government. I wish the members of Congress could be flooded

with original, personal appeals, and letters on the subjects needing immediate attention.

May I give you two pictures? Take the case of the Omaha Indians of Nebraska. They were well forward on the path to citizenship and civilization and the hopes of their friends were very bright in regard to them. The sellers of strong drink on the edge of the reservation came among them and they fell. They were fine men and women naturally, but they yielded to temptation. Then there came the withdrawal of the mission. Strong appeal has been made to their own manhood and womanhood, but a great deal of outside help is needed also.

Again, take the case of the Mission Indians in California. Their situation is full of difficulties. The seller of strong drink locates just outside the reservations and quickly takes all that the Indians can earn in a year. It does seem as if Christian men and women should use all their influence to right this state of things. We have here heard of Indians who themselves have strictly enforced temperance legislation, but all are not so wise and strong, and it is our duty to help to do the needed legislative work for their defense.

Mr. Galpin, formerly connected with the Indian service, was asked to speak.

MR. S. A. GALPIN, of Connecticut. It is many years since I have had much to do with the Indians; and yet, as I listen to the story that is told here, it seems to me as if the problems were the same now as then. I remember very distinctly a trip I made to the Indian Territory in 1875, when the Government and the religious bodies were cooperating more closely than now, and when the agencies there were under the control partly of the Orthodox Friends and partly of the Hicksite Friends.

At that time the salaries of the agents were distinctly less than now, each one, no matter how difficult or exposed his task, receiving from the Government \$1,500 per annum. The Friends, in order to secure competent agents, in many cases supplemented their salaries by contributions from their own funds. Under the efficient supervision of Agent Miles, at the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency were started many of the experiments which have since come into so general use in the Indian schools, and which have proved of such value. It was Agent Miles who, in order to give his Indians work, decided to do all the carting of his supplies by Indian labor, although he was thus compelled to "receipt" for them at Arkansas City, the then nearest railroad station, and so assumed personally the risk of loss and damage during the 150 miles of wagon transit. It was at this agency also that our good friend Mr. Seger, who is, I am informed, still active in Indian work, made such a success of his industrial school. When this school was first started the Arapahoes joined readily, but the Cheyennes, who always looked down upon the Arapahoes, refused to send their children. After the Cheyenne chiefs, however, had seen the enthusiasm of the children themselves, and the manifest success of the school in its school herd and its kitchen garden, their attitude changed. They begged for the places which they had previously refused, and showed their earnestness by offering to give even as many as ten ponies if thereby one of their children could be admitted. If the promise of those earlier days could have been realized and there had been no disturbing outside influence, both of these tribes should by this time be entirely independent. As a matter of fact, however, when the inevitable change in officials came, so that Mr. Miles and Mr. Seger both left the Service, their successors failed to maintain their influence over the Indians—and, in some way, which I do not clearly remember, the interest of the Indians was dulled, the school herd was divided and eaten, and the bulk of the tribe still remain a charge upon the Government.

The truth is that our Government is not a Christianizing nor civilizing agency. It does not seem to me that it will ever succeed greatly in Christianizing or civilizing the Indians. It is organized for general purposes and not to carry on a distinctly missionary work. Such work can be done better by an agency more flexible, and not operated under a general law—a law beneficial, perhaps, in some cases, but distinctly harmful in others by reason of its lack of adaptability. The work is missionary work and individual in its character, and our good friend from Hampton was entirely right in advising us to appeal less to Congress and more to the Christian people of this country. It is quite time that the Christians of our land should recognize the missionary character of the Indian work, and settle themselves in earnest to do it by agencies of their own—earnest, faithful, flexible, and persistent.

Rev. J. E. ROY. I was out among the Crow Indians last month, and was glad to see the field of Custer's battle, and the monument which the Government has put up, marking the spot where 246 men fell—without a living creature to tell the story, except Curry, the scout, who ran away. I found the agency 10 miles up the valley, and everything seemed to be in the best order under the Government. They have a good school under Christian and devoted superintendent and teachers. I found a missionary of the American Missionary Association, Mr. Burgess, who had been there three years. He was greatly encouraged. He had secured a home and was allowed to use the schoolhouse for a Sunday school in the morning. There are about 100

scholars. At the evening hour he gives them a Bible reading. Now that the contract system has passed away, in the process of evolution, this seemed to me a possible way by which the Government and the missionary processes might go together without any union of church and state. The agent was favorable to the missionary. The school was prosperous, as the Sunday school and the evening services were. Mr. Burgess goes out during the week to the camps and preaches to the people by an interpreter. He commands the respect of the people at the post, and of the Indians. He came from Scotland originally. He studied for three years in the Moody Institute in Chicago to prepare himself for this work.

Dr. JAMES M. KING. As the representative of "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," I wish to make a brief report with reference to educational matters, so far as the action of Congress is concerned.

This conference has taken step after step until, two years ago, it asked all the religious organizations to withdraw every application for Government money for Indian education. All the denominations withdrew by the action of their highest legislative bodies except the Roman Catholic. The same appeal was made to them and in precisely the same phraseology, and a very interesting discussion in good temper took place between the authorities of that church and those making the appeal.

This is the final action taken on the Indian appropriation bill at the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress: The House of Representatives by a vote of 93 to 64 provided for the immediate discontinuance of all appropriations for sectarian Indian education. This met with opposition in the Senate, and, as a result of repeated conferences, the following became a part of the bill:

"And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriations whatever for education in any sectarian school: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior may make contracts with contract schools, apportioning as near as may be the amount so contracted for among schools of various denominations for the education of Indian pupils during the fiscal year 1897, but shall only make such contracts at places where nonsectarian schools can not be provided for such Indian children, and to an amount not exceeding 50 per cent of the amount so used for the fiscal year 1895."

This work, initiated by "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," and largely carried on for six years by this conference, has finally reached this stage. I want to say a single word of exhortation in view of the results here secured. The appeals that were made last night, and especially by the president of Hampton, ought to be taken to heart by all Christian people and Christian organizations; and if the Christianizing influence is to be extended, hand in hand with the educational efforts, it must be the result of the private contributions from those who believe that the Indian must be Christianized as well as educated. Personally, I want to express my gratitude for the unanimity with which this step has been taken by the different religious organizations. I want to say also that since this movement began, sectarian appropriations have been prohibited in the constitutions of every new State admitted into the Union; and a number of the older States, in revising their constitutions, have inserted such provisions, so that now twenty-six of the forty-five States have in their organic law declared against the practice. Forty-two of the States have constitutional provisions protecting the school funds against sectarian aggressions. It is believed that the time is not far distant when the remaining States will make such provisions, and when the proposed sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States will become a part of the organic law of the land.

General Eaton was asked to speak on education in Alaska.

General EATON. The report of education in Alaska shows decided progress, although the Government has not advanced the appropriations that are necessary. They have 1,088 pupils in the Government schools. They have had great difficulty in keeping the appropriations up where they were before, and it is especially necessary to have pressure brought to bear on the members of Congress to secure the needful appropriation. Dr. Jackson, who usually reports to us from Alaska, has been detained or he would have been here with his annual suggestions.

The reindeer herds have increased and they now have four stations. The plan is to create two permanent places where they will gather reindeer and train the herders, and from these places they will send out, as they have already begun to do, to other stations the product of these herds. Some of the missionary stations are now receiving benefit in this direction. You see the common sense in this movement. It lies behind all possible development for that region of country. We must learn the lesson of northern Europe in this direction. This plan needs your cooperation and help. If it is carried out as Dr. Harris and Dr. Jackson planned it, it will furnish a means of support for people all over that region.

It should be said that Dr. Jackson tells in a private letter of finding the people at

one of the mission stations at the point of starvation, but he was able to furnish supplies until their own came. The general work of education there demands your attention. Dr. Harris has asked advanced appropriations for it; instead of that they have cut down the appropriations. If you will sustain the Bureau of Education these people can not only be made self-supporting, but they will be of benefit to commerce and civilization. The great demands of humanity and Christianity will be met, and at the same time there will be a contribution to the commerce of the world.

I was greatly interested last evening in listening to the results in those things that we were struggling over years and years ago. I can not tell how my heart swelled with gratitude when Bishop Whipple put before you the commendation of Mr. E. P. Smith. He was in the Bureau of Indian Affairs when I was in the Bureau of Education, and I suppose I knew more about his troubles than any other man in the public service, and I have always felt the injustice done him; and in a certain sense I had to suffer with him. I happened to be present with the Secretary when one of those assaults was made upon Mr. Smith, and because I had the means of witnessing to the truth I was pursued not only in public but in private. The animus of that assault can not be known or can not be stated here; but it becomes us all, each in his place, to understand the facts in such matters, and, when a public officer is unjustly assaulted, to be able to defend him. Mr. Smith was one of the purest and most devoted men we have ever had. I was glad to stand by him.

Sometimes it is said that there is no longer need of going to Mohonk, that the Indians are now getting on by themselves. One of the greatest statesmen I ever knew once said that it was important to keep before the people aspirations. When I listened to the excellent report on education I had this feeling—that there was now before us a clear enough view of what is yet to be done. All of the Indian youth are not yet in the schools, but there is still need for this conference to hold up aspirations before itself and before Congress.

Senator DAWES. Can General Eaton tell us the legal status of Mr. Duncan's settlement on Annetta Island?

General EATON. The island is held on the communistic plan, and he may be said to be the chief of the tribe. He has done a most wonderful work there, but there are no personal rights except the occupancy of the houses, and they are having difficulty already over the invasion of miners. Certain minerals have been found on the island, and Mr. Duncan has been trying to secure protection in Washington.

Senator DAWES. Mr. Duncan, then, had merely permission to occupy the island.

General EATON. Yes.

Senator DAWES. The trouble is that the moment the gold miners appeared there, there was danger that the miners would oust him. I do not understand, unless some change has been made, that he has anything more than permission to occupy that island.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Are there not men appointed by the Government whose business it is to ferret out the whisky cases on the reservations and prosecute them? I thought we had at one time a man appointed by the Department of Justice. I should like to know certainly about this because it will make some difference in our work.

Miss COLLINS. Is not the Indian agent authorized to do it? It is so with us. He takes every means to ferret out the cases, and I have seen cases where men have been arrested and tried who are now in prison.

Mr. SMILEY. The agent does it in California.

Dr. FOSTER, secretary for New England of the American Sunday School Union. The American Sunday School Union has been doing a large work among the Indians for years. This is a Sabbath school organization working on undenominational lines. One of its superintendents, the late Rev. Dr. William P. Paxton, with his missionaries, has organized over one hundred schools among the Indians in the Indian Territory. This is a great work and is deserving of recognition. It is conducted in this way: Missionaries go out and find one or two Christian people who are willing to support and manage a school, and then bring together the children and organize a school. Thus, in a quiet and effective way, a missionary work is set in motion and carried on. Of course this is not feasible where the Indians are still heathen and apart from Christian influences; but where they have been touched by the gospel, or where there are Christian workers among them, it can be done successfully. We have come to a point in our experience among the Indians where there would seem to be an opportunity for larger work of this kind. There are many Christian Indians scattered through the tribes who have been educated in Eastern schools and they have carried back with them more or less gospel conviction and purpose, and it would encourage their own Christian life and purpose if they were to undertake such work as this. If money could be secured for the support of a missionary of suitable character—an Indian, if possible—the American Sunday School Union would be glad to send him out to start union Sunday schools in places where there is no missionary work carried on at present. In this way great good could unquestionably be done where nothing else would be likely to be so effective.

Mr. SHELTON. The Indian policemen have been spoken of. It was my privilege when I was on the reservation to see them in the experimental stage. We do not realize what it means to be an Indian policeman, to be clothed with the authority that they have, to be sent out 30, 40, perhaps 60 or 70 miles without any support of any kind to enforce law and keep order. I think that every agent I have ever asked has spoken well of them. I have inquired, "Did you ever know an Indian policeman who abused his authority?" The answer would be, "Never." "Did you ever know one to make unwise use of his arms?" "Never." "Isn't it a little dangerous to give a man such authority as he has, with his small amount of education, to give him arms and send him out with so much responsibility? Isn't there danger that he may make a personal use of it?" I have never found an agent who knew of any such case. I think this ought to be known and put on record in behalf of the Indian police. It is a tribute to the Indian character. It is a proof of the strong manhood and self-contained power of the Indian that we should recognize. In that most unfortunate attempt to arrest Sitting Bull, when the policeman received the order to make the arrest he started out, having first bade good-by to his family and friends, assuring them that he might be going to certain death and yet not hesitating for a moment to carry out the instructions of the Government and the fulfillment of that which he had sworn to uphold. I wanted to say these words for the Indian policeman.

Mr. RYDER. I have here a preamble and resolutions, drawn up by the Indians with the purpose of sending them to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A copy is now in his hands. I want to read them, and move that they be referred to the business committee.

"Oahe, S. DAK., May 23, 1896.

"Hon. D. M. BROWNING,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

"DEAR SIR: The mission council of the Dakota mission, representing the Indian work of the American Missionary Association, at their annual meeting at Oahe, S. Dak., desire to express their conviction of the importance of a better regulation of the marital relations of the Indian people. As the home is of more importance than the land on which it is, so laws governing the formation and continuance of homes are more important than those concerning lands. This matter is too important to be left to the individual judgment of an Indian agent, however wise. We think the Indian Department should make and send out to its agents the proper instructions, thus making the rules uniform and impressing upon the agents and the Indian communities more strongly the importance of right marriage relations. There has existed a want of uniformity in dealing with different parties on the same agency; and Indians in improper relations and of immoral character have been allowed to hold positions under the Government to the discredit of the service and the injury of the community.

"We believe that Indians should come as soon as practicable under the marriage laws of the State in which they live, but in many cases this can not yet be done. Meanwhile, for the transitional period, we would suggest that the Department make regulations which shall include the following:

"1. That Indian agents conform as nearly as possible to the law of the State in which their Indians reside in dealing with matters of marriage and divorce among them.

"2. That the system of granting licenses for and making a record of every marriage already instituted on some agencies be uniformly carried out in all where Indians are not yet under State laws.

"3. That the process of divorce in case of those who have been married in accordance with Indian custom, where necessary as a last resort, be deliberate. That six months intervene before final action, and at least a year before remarriage of guilty parties.

"4. That no polygamist, nor licentious person, nor one not legally married, be allowed to hold any office under the Government in the Indian service.

"Respectfully, yours,

"J. G. BURGESS, *Moderator,*
"P. W. REED, *Secretary,*
"Of Indian Council."

Dr. FRISSELL. For a number of years we have had New York Indians at Hampton. Captain Pratt has had a number, and we have felt that good resulted from this. The Government at Washington has refused permission to Captain Pratt and to us to receive more of the New York Indians, on the ground that when they spoke to the authorities of the State the answer was that New York could take care of its own Indians. The truth is that New York does not do it. These Indians who are surrounded by our civilization need the help that we can give them, and we think it would be a good thing for the Government to allow them to come to Captain Pratt and to us. I should be glad to have this conference express itself on this subject.

Miss COLLINS. The foreigner who tried to eat an orange by biting through the skin did not like it. He did not know what was inside; and those of you who know the Indian only from the outside are in much the same condition. You do not know the real Indian. I am speaking of the Sioux.

My work has been largely missionary work among the Sioux. When I was sent out I used to go from house to house and read a passage and pray and sing with them, and thought that was missionary work. But I find that we have to begin at the very bottom, on the dirt floor. We find the people in their tents, and in a great many cases knowing nothing about a higher civilized life. They know only that they are hungry; and if it is possible to get something to eat they will. They also know that there is a life outside of the reservation, for some have seen it; but a great many can not understand it. We must bring this great outside world to their knowledge. We must bring into their homes higher ideals of the duties of the wife and mother and father and sister and husband and brother. We must teach the woman who has a husband with a quick temper, and who is apt to speak harshly when he goes home hungry, that if she is quick to say something sharp in return, it will be much better to have his supper ready for him; that is the best thing to have awaiting his return home. That is missionary work, one part of the gospel teaching which goes into the daily life. But it is beautiful to see in the best Indian homes the courtesy and dignity and fine manners of these people. An Indian child is taught from infancy that he is a child. They have not come up to the latter-day doctrine that the children are the kings and queens of the home. The children stand back and the father and mother come forward. In an Indian home the little child is taught to be polite to his elders always. One morning when going past the chapel I saw an Indian chief, Grindstone by name, passing by, when a little boy of 7 or 8 years of age, who had been in the day school a little while and was beginning to be civilized, called out in a free and easy way to him, "Hollo!" And the old man stopped and said, "My grandchild, what right have you to speak to an elder person until he speaks to you first?" That is the way the children are trained. The Indians easily believe in the gospel of Christ. They have themselves no God of love, yet there are people who say to me, "Is it worth while to go among these people, who have such beautiful characters and who already believe in the Great Spirit, to do missionary work?"

My friends, did you ever realize that the Indians have no God of love; that the Great Spirit simply means to them the Great Unknown; that they offer sacrifices not to gods made with men's hands, but to the sun, moon, and stars, the trees, and the waters; that they bow down to stones and call them grandfather, that they may propitiate them, that they may prevent sorrow and death and danger? And when we hear of that wonderful maize dance, what does it mean? It is that the Indian feels that he must make gifts to the gods so that his crops may not be destroyed, that he shall not starve; and what does the sun dance mean? It means that they may sacrifice their own bodies that they may propitiate the gods. For this reason they cut their flesh and dance round the pole from the rising to the setting of the sun, and if they do not fail they consider that they are the favorites of the gods. Do not such people need the loving gospel of Jesus Christ? When they hear of the sorrow of our Saviour's life on earth, when they hear of his suffering and death, it brings tears to their eyes, and many are ready to accept that gospel because God so loved them.

I have here a medal which comes from an old Indian man nearly 90 years old, who said to me when he was dying, "Take this, Winona"—the name by which the Indians call me. (These medals were given to Indians who were loyal to the Government during the times of trouble, and those who rescued white prisoners.) He said, "I have kept it all these years. Now I am dying; I am going to leave my old wife, and I have no children. There is no one to take care of her. I have kept this medal because the Great Father gave it to me. I do not know what it means, but I think perhaps it means that when I am no longer here the Great Father will take care of my wife, and I wanted to show it to him and tell him that I prized it."

It is sometimes said that the old people are not worth trying to save. "Let us take the boys and girls and educate and care for them, and let the old Indians die." Dear old Wounded Head, a man who had fought many battles against his enemies and who knew nothing of Jesus Christ until within a few years, when he was over 70, came into my house one day trembling and weak, and I gave him a lunch for him and his wife; and when they sat down to eat, I left them alone, thinking they would rather eat by themselves. When I went back they had not eaten, and I said, "Why do you not eat?" He said, "We do not know how to pray, and we know that Christians ask a blessing, and we should like to have you bless the food." So I asked the blessing, and they ate. His hand had been wounded, and though I am not a surgeon, I bandaged it as well as I could. He lived 6 miles from me, and when he was sick I would go to visit him. One day he said, "When you do not come to see us it is as if the darkness closed in about us." It was not I who was light to him, but it was the gospel which I carried. I read to him of that land where there

would be no more hunger and no more thirst. He said, "Read that chapter again. Tell us again of that land where there are clear waters and beautiful trees and fruits." You who live in this part of the country do not know what it means to think of a land where there is always clear water and where there are trees and fruits. We in dry and barren Dakota understand it.

There are many of these old people for whom the darkness has fled away, and to whom the light has come in these last days, and their influence is wonderful over the young people.

It has been asked why it is that in the last few years the Omahas and Winnebagoes and some other tribes have gone back to the old-time dance. One cause of this return is because our Indians have been allowed to go into shows to exhibit the old savage ways. The white people like to look at them, and these things ought not to be allowed. Those Indians who have been exhibiting their savage life are going back to the old customs in every single case.

We have a work to do as Christians. Every denomination represented here should have missionaries somewhere among the Indians and should see that these missionaries are furnished with money to carry out their work. If we do our duty, the work will grow, but we must have the church back of us. And the churches must do their missionary work themselves and not ask the Government to pay the expenses.

We have all we can do to direct the Indian wisely on the reservation, because of a great many questions that come up. It has been my policy never to antagonize the agent or any Government employee. I think it far better that our Indians should suffer wrong rather than be led to constantly think of their wrongs. It is bad for them to dwell on these wrongs. When an Indian comes and tells me that he has been insulted by an employee, I say, "That may be true, but don't you know that in our line of work we are trying to help you up into a position so that by and by you will not need an agent? You are going to be able to take care of yourselves, and we will not waste our time and strength in quarreling about what the employees at the agency do. We will learn and study and work for the uplifting of our people, so that we may not have these employees, but can take care of ourselves. We must learn to be men and stand alone."

I have never antagonized the school superintendent or the teachers employed on the reservation. I have stood by them as far as I could, and when I can not defend them conscientiously I keep still. And yet I have no doubt that I have often been spoken of as that meddling missionary, who ought to be sent off from the reservation.

In regard to the election of judges of police courts, instead of appointing them, it might be worse than it is now; we might become civilized enough to be bought up, and something worse might come of it. But it does not seem that it could be worse than it is now, and it might be better.

As to the superintendence of schools, Dr. Hailmann could be general superintendent and the agency superintendents be responsible to him. I think Dr. Hailmann is doing excellent work. I believe that he is a Christian man and that he is interested in the Christian work of the missionaries. I only spoke of having a superintendent on the reservation because we have a condition of things there which a man in Washington can not understand and can not look into from such a distance.

Mr. SMILEY. It is very evident that Miss Collins has had a great deal of experience with the different traits of Indian character. I should like to ask about their honesty, for instance.

Miss COLLINS. Recently I had a talk with one of the traders. He is a good friend of the Indians, but is not at all sentimental. I said to him, "What do you think of the honesty of the Indian in settling his accounts in the store?" He said, "Just before the time that the Sioux were to receive the money payment which the Government has begun in payment for the ponies which the Government had taken away from them, that were shot in the Custer battle, I trusted those Indians to the amount of about \$50,000, and carried it on my books. After the Indians received their money I did not lose \$150 on the whole transaction, and that I lost from a half-breed who did not live on the reservation." The Indian is an honest man. There is nothing he dislikes so much as to be considered dishonest. A man rarely steals anything. If a boy does, he brings disgrace on himself. I remember one case, when a boy saw a bright towel on my window and carried it home, and the mother came back, and the child carried the towel. The boy was trembling and frightened, and the mother said, "Here is my boy; he stole a towel out of your window, and I have made him bring it back. I do not want to bring up a boy like an old woman who will steal." I must say that our civilization in some respects will do away with a part of this old feeling. It is a hard thing to say, but when they deal with many men who are constantly dishonest and try to rob them they will learn dishonesty. They will learn that the white man does not expect every man to be honest. The Indian is far from perfect, but he has the making of a manly man in him.

As to his religion, the Indian is naturally a very religious man. All their dances are religious dances. The smoking of the peace pipe is a religious act. The tobacco

and willow bark are prepared in the center of the room on a clean spot, and there is one appointed to fill this pipe, and that one must have clean hands and pure heart. The pipe is filled and handed to the guest of the house. It is lifted with a motion to the four winds. That is a prayer. It is smoked a little by each one and is then laid down. It is worship. You never see an Indian with a pipe or cigar in his mouth till he learns it from white men, never. An old-time Indian does not care so much for tobacco as you think. He cultivates a taste for it as he becomes civilized.

If a man makes a vow, he keeps it. There is on record one man who made a vow and failed to keep it. He had a brother-in-law very sick, and he vowed that if he got well he would never again eat wild turnip; and his brother recovered. He kept his vow for many years, and then he failed to find game and was almost starving, and there was nothing to eat. Finally, forced by hunger, he took wild turnip, and from that time whenever he pulled up tipisini it turned into a ghost of a turnip. And they say, "You see what would happen to our people if they should break their vows."

The love of Indian parents has been spoken of. Just as I came away from home I was traveling over the prairie and met a man and his wife, and they seemed to me very sad. There was no smile when they met me. I asked what was the trouble, and they said, "Our only little baby is lying in the box in the wagon. We have been visiting friends and it died." And they were traveling eight days and nights to carry this little body to bury it at home. They do love their children. One of our young men, when his child died, walked for many, many miles with the dead body of his baby on his back to carry it to the reservation for burial. There is nothing to me more beautiful than the love of the Indian father and mother for their children. They never correct a child. They never punish or strike a child. I have never known a father or mother to whip a child or give any kind of corporal punishment, but the children are expected to obey. They are expected to be manly, and the very worst thing I have ever heard a father or mother say, when provoked, was, "You are very unmanly." There is no way of scolding the children in Dakota, or of swearing at them, and they never would raise an arm to strike a child; yet we have obedience in the home, and the children pay the parents the most loyal respect. I never heard an Indian child call its father or mother by any nickname, not even "governor." They always speak of them as "my father," "my mother." And in the presence of the children no one ever speaks the name of the father or mother to him. If, for instance, the child's name is "Many Buffaloes," you must say, "Many Buffaloes' father and mother." When I was new to the work and did not understand this, one of the children was once crying, and I said, "What is the matter; what are you crying about?" And he said, "George Grindstone said my father's name right before me." It was a terrible insult to him. There are many such things that we do not understand, but the children are brought up strictly, and are taught to obey all of these rules.

Let us save all this respect, if possible. It seems to me that in our Government schools, and in mission schools, too, there is a great mistake in compelling the little girls to speak too loud at the first start. It is very mortifying to them. There is no higher compliment that you can pay to an Indian girl than to say, "She is a good girl; she is very wise, and she never says anything."

Mr. JENKINS. Do you speak of Indians in general or only of the Sioux?

Miss COLLINS. I am speaking of the Sioux. I have been among them twenty-one years.

Question. Do you need any locks to prevent stealing?

Miss COLLINS. I have never had anything stolen. I lock my door for the reason that the Indian has grown up without doors, and he has no idea of knocking at anyone's house. It is not always pleasant to have them walking into your house without your knowing anything about it.

Question. Is there not a law that beef shall be issued to the Indians from the block?

Miss COLLINS. The beef is butchered by the Indians and not issued from the block.

Question. Could not the use of soap be encouraged by the field matrons? Or could not the field matron have the power given to her to distribute soap?

Miss COLLINS. She can and does encourage its use. If things work smoothly on a reservation, there is no trouble. The agent will respect the field matron's wishes in this respect and issue soap where the field matron thinks it will be used. But all agents are not so wise, and soap is often given to nonprogressive families and not to progressive ones who need it and would use it. Many agents do not wish to have suggestions made to them, for is not an Indian agency a little monarchy?

Dr. HENRY HOPKINS. Something was said last night of the discouragements which come from the lapsing of pupils who have come back from the schools in the East. It occurred to me that the Indian is not the only man who comes under this law of the reversal of type. It is true, I believe, that the English lord and the Harvard graduate are the most desperate kind of cowboys in the West, who, as a rule, are generally a pretty clever and good sort of fellows. If the Indian does sometimes go back to his old surroundings and become worse than he was before, it is only a part

of the development of our universal human nature. I remember to have heard that General Miles said of Sitting Bull, after he had had an interview with him under a flag of truce, when the old chief had a thousand armed warriors behind him, that Sitting Bull was a very religious man. He said that in the interview he raised his eyes to heaven and said, "God Almighty made me an Indian, but He did not make me an agency Indian, and I do not intend to be one." I think we all applaud that sentiment. The average idle Indian at the average Indian agency is certainly not a person to be envied, and any of us would prefer to be Sitting Bull, with a thousand braves behind him, rather than be that kind of an Indian. It seems to me we need to make Christian environment the watchword of our endeavors. If we do not destroy the Indian languages as a part of the knowledge in which we are interested as scholars, we do want to do more toward breaking down the organized barbarism of the Indian, so that we shall be able to do for him what needs to be done. Dr. Bernardo, who has done such a wonderful work among the street arabs of London, says that there is almost no case where, if there be an environment of loving care, the whole character of the child may not be changed. I hope that all the efforts that are being made by Captain Pratt in this matter of putting Indians out among farmers, where they will be away from the old life and in new circumstances and surroundings, may receive our thought and care.

Mr. WILLIAM HARKNESS, of the Brooklyn board of education. I have always been puzzled to know why Indians should be kept on a reservation at all. If you would take any number of people and place them apart from the rest of the world, it would be pretty hard to civilize them. If you could only distribute the Indians among the people of the country, you would probably solve the problem. I was interested in what Miss Scoville said of the hatred of those Indians for the whites. Why should they hate the whites? Because they have been illtreated by them. We must gain their confidence and love before they can feel that they are a part of us. Why should clothing and food be given to Indians?

Mr. SMILEY. They are furnished by treaty.

Mr. HARKNESS. But why should they not be made to work and earn their own living? That young man who spoke here impressed me very much. He says he is an Indian; but, more than that, he is a man. He has fitted himself to support himself in a machine shop. Isn't he much more of a man by so doing? Why shouldn't the Indians be scattered about among the people? Why should they be kept together any more than any other class of people? I do not see how you are going to civilize them if you keep them away from civilization.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Harkness is a good disciple of Captain Pratt. That is exactly the position we all take.

Dr. YOUNG. Miss Collins's wonderful testimony about the Sioux could equally well be given of our Indians. An Indian who would steal is beneath the contempt of the race. In one of my long journeys with my dog trains we had occasion to make a cache in the fork of a tree. When we came back my Indians looked at it and said, "Somebody has cut a piece off." I did not think so, but I did not argue it. About two weeks later an Indian came in with a fine haunch of venison, which he threw down, saying, "That is for you. It belongs to you. When I was out hunting and I did not get anything for three days and I was very hungry, and I saw your cache and I knew it was the missionary's, the friend of the Indian, I pulled it down and cut off a piece of the pemmican and tied it up and put it back, and now I have brought you this venison." He had brought it 60 miles on his back!

When the Indian becomes a Christian, he makes a good one, full of missionary zeal and fervor. I only wish we could get these men off from the reservations and settled as citizens of the land. We must keep in them all the good qualities they have; but we have in Christianity all these beautiful things—respect, love, tenderness, honesty. We must bring them up to this high plane.

SIXTH SESSION.

FRIDAY NIGHT, October 16.

The conference was called to order at 8 p.m. Mrs. Eldridge was asked to speak.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I find the general characteristics of our Navajo Indians are very much like those of the Sioux. You can but respect them for their sturdy independence and their good working qualities, of which we make a great deal in speaking of the Indian. But I am sorry to say that we have the same differences in our Indians that we find among our white people. As you know, we have good white people, and we have indifferent white people, and we have bad white people; and those classes are represented among our Navajoes. They are very tender to their children, and the children are kind to the old people. They take excellent care of them, so far as their means will allow. Years ago the Navajoes were very cruel when they were fighting. Not long since, in riding with one of our policemen far out upon

the reservation, we came upon a cave to which he called my attention. He said that many years ago, when the Apaches were fighting us, they came over here and stole our sheep and our children, and we fought them. In this cave 14 Apaches were found. They would not surrender and we roasted them. "Oh," I said in horror, "how could you do it?" And he said, "You must remember that the Mexicans were roasting us and the Yutes were killing us."

A year ago this month I was invited to go to the Cinza Mountains. It was strange to find there orchards. After traveling forty-eight hours we came to a natural gateway of stone. We passed through this gateway and found ourselves entirely surrounded by forests and a large peach orchard, where we could see that the trees had died down many times and then grown up again from the roots. The trees were loaded with fruit. I asked who planted the trees, when a man who must have been nearly a hundred years old, said: "Our great-grandfathers did not know who planted them." It was very fine fruit. They told me of a legend they had among their people that many, many years ago people came in there who went by the name of "The Man-who-draws-his-coat-tails." Evidently it must have been the monks. They told me that silver and gold were found in the mountains, and that the able-bodied men were held as prisoners and put to work in these mines. At night the men were kept in stockades and the next morning put back into the mines to work. After they had worked many years, they said to the rulers: "This is more than death," and they planned an insurrection. They said that these men were killed and their bodies thrown into the mines, and it was walled up. Perhaps something of this tradition has reached the ears of the white people, and that accounts for the recent attempt to get hold of the Cinza Mountains.

I should like to speak of the death of one of our old people when we first went among the Navajoes. One of the friendliest of our visitors was a man nearly 100 years old, bowed almost double. He was riding a burro, looking up his horses, which are the principal wealth of the Navajo man. He was very friendly to us, and came often to the mission, and I think that a great deal is due to him in our being able to get hold of these people. He was exceedingly intelligent. After a while he was taken very sick, and his sons came to us—bright, intelligent men—and said, "Our father is very sick, and we wish you would come to see him." So we went down and carried him little comforts; and we said to the sons, "We think your father is not going to live; he is very old, and can not last many days." The elder son took care of the father during the daytime, ministering to him tenderly, and the younger son cared for him at night, holding him in his arms because he could breathe better. At last the old man died, and they came for me. I went down to the camp and found them in a hogan—a circular house without any roof. While their expression of grief was sincere, there was not the wailing that we find among some tribes, nor any great noise, but one could see that these boys and the women loved the old man. I asked what I could do, and the older son said to me: "You loved our father and he loved you. He was the friend of the white people. Now, our Navajo way of caring for our dead is bad. We carry them away and put them in the caves of the mountains, and the mountain lions find our dead and they are destroyed. We love our father, and we want you to give him Christian burial. Bury him in the way that you bury your own dead. It is two days since we have eaten food, and our little ones are very hungry, and we should like to attend to this duty as soon as possible."

We went to some of our white neighbors who did not love the Indians very much, and we had to be persuasive with our tongues and our purses before we could show them how to dig a grave for the old man. At last it was dug. We had no lumber for a coffin, but we went down with our wagon to the hogan where the body was, and the younger son very reverentially came in. Their hogans always face the east. But, according to their ideas, it would not be right to take the body out through the door; so an opening was made on the west side of the hogan, and the body was taken out through that and laid upon the wagon, with the fine blankets and the silverware that he had, and the bridle, and all the treasures which he had. These were all laid upon the wagon, and we were to drive 2 miles to the mountain where the grave was dug. As we went from the camp the cries of the people whom we had helped was something very sad to hear. I could but think that these people in their ignorance had no knowledge of the future. No word had been spoken to them of the future; and yet one could see, from the preparations they had made for him to enter another life, that they must have some conception of a future life.

When we reached the grave, the younger son got down into it and made a bed with the blankets and skins, with the saddle for a pillow. Then the body was laid in and covered with more of the beautiful blankets, and the silverware was put in, and, as the grave was filled, the beautiful burial service was read; and I think I never saw a more reverent company than was gathered for the first Christian burial among them. The followers of this man to-day are our best men. They are hard-working people, and they have learned something of what there is beyond the grave. We are hoping great things for our Navajoes, because they are such good workers and

because they are trying to make homes for themselves. The great Indian question we hear so much about can be settled easily if we put ourselves in the place of these Indians, and ask that they be treated just as we would want others to treat us were we in their places.

A telegram was read from Miss Sybil Carter, expressing thanks for the message sent to her.

Mr. DAVIS. The suggestion has been presented to you by President Gates and some other speakers, and a similar plea has been often made by the Indian Rights Association, for us to impress special points upon our Congressmen. Permit me to state the result of one very carefully made plea to a wide circle. I felt that the appeal should not go from Philadelphia alone, or from Boston. They would exclaim, "Those sentimentalists in the East and Friends in Philadelphia!—such appeals are as a matter of course from them;" and they would then quietly lay the matter aside on the desk, I would not say in the wastebasket. I therefore wrote to gentlemen in various parts of the country and asked them to unite in a special effort to reach Congressmen. Among the various replies were several to the effect, "You will remember that the most efficient person in Congress on Indian matters is Senator Dawes, to whom I have sent your letter;" and I heard from Senator Dawes that his mail was considerably increased by the appeals that I had sent to Ohio, Illinois, and elsewhere, to have their own Congressmen reached. Such a failure to apprehend and do some earnest work for the cause with their own people was then, and is often, very serious.

There needs, also, to be more confidence that you can do something. Many have answered such appeals by saying that they had no personal acquaintance with Congressmen; to which it is fair to reply, "Supposing one has no personal acquaintance, we must have some friends who have. Secure their influence, and do not let it rest with one alone." Appeals made to the overtaxed Members of Congress will be overlooked on their desks unless there is some more individual earnest influence brought to bear.

Ex-Senator DAWES. I have had as much experience in this matter of petitions as most people. One of the Western Senators came to me one day with two postal cards, one from California and one from Boston. On the back of each was printed, in identical words, the same request; and I had to explain that a very able and efficient newspaper in New York had printed 10,000 of these, leaving a blank for the name, and had sent them out to different parties to distribute. When a Member of Congress gets a printed petition, especially on a postal card, he doesn't read it through. A man once came to me in great distress about a provision in a bill which was going to ruin him and all his neighbors. He satisfied me that he was right about it, and he wanted I should tell him how to get others interested in it. I said, "Go to some friend of every Member of the House you can, and ask him to write in his own hand just what he wants his Member to do, and sign it and send it on to him." In about a fortnight one Member after another from different States came to me and said, "What does this mean? Half a dozen of my constituents have been writing me, asking me to do this thing." The result of it was that the thing was done. If a man will write what he wants in his own hand, and will not get it printed or put on a typewriter, and will sign his own name to it, his Representative will be exceedingly glad not only to read it but to give it a favorable consideration if possible. There is too much machine work about getting up petitions these days, and they have lost much of their force in consequence. Another mistake is that of pouring them in upon a man already right, overwhelming him, and overlooking those who need to be urged to do the thing desired.

Mr. GARRETT. During the past year three gentlemen who have heretofore taken a more or less active part in our conference have died. We miss them all. Capt. J. G. Bourke, whose brilliant addresses and papers will be remembered by many, died in a hospital in Philadelphia. Rev. Mr. Harding, who long represented the Springfield Republican here, has also died. And we feel the loss especially of Dr. Austin Abbott, who has also passed away. For years he was one of the most active members of the conference, and his gentle manner and strong counsel, especially on questions of law, will long be appreciated. It seems eminently proper that a resolution should be adopted by the conference; and Dr. Foster has prepared one on which Dr. Cuyler will speak.

The following resolution was then offered by Dr. Foster, who moved that it be printed in the records:

"This conference this year greatly misses the genial presence and wise counsels of one who has been identified with it from the beginning. Dr. Austin Abbott, who has been called from earth during the year, was deeply interested in the welfare of the Indian, and showed his interest by constant attendance at these meetings. His legal learning and practical good sense caused him to be greatly appreciated on these occasions and to be pressed into service. He was often a member of our business committee, aided largely in drafting our platforms, and was eagerly heard on the

floor of this conference. In all legal questions before this conference his opinion was wellnigh decisive. In social relations we found him a man of a warm heart and of earnest Christian character.

"The conclusions reached by this conference were shaped in no small degree by his counsels, and whatever influence the conference has had in improving the condition of the Indian is due as much to him as to any one member of this body. We are glad to record our indebtedness to our departed friend for his untiring and able efforts in promoting the work of this conference."

Dr. CUYLER. I second the proposal. It seems to me that at almost every gathering we are called to lament the departure of some who have been active participants in the blessed work for which we are assembled. At the last meeting the distinguished brothers stood here side by side, with their earnest faces, their active brains, and their large hearts consecrated to the work of this conference. Through the last day or two we have felt what a gap it is that we have not had the brothers Abbott with us this time. One of them—Dr. Lyman Abbott—told me at the beginning of the week how much he regretted that an important engagement prevented his being with us; but alas! the eloquent voice of his brother Austin will never be heard here again.

Austin Abbott came of a family that was famous through two generations. His father, the Rev. Jacob Abbott, of Boston, was widely known as a popular author. His name appears on the title-page of two hundred books as author or editor. But after all, his greatest work was in giving to this country those four noble sons. Benjamin Abbott, one of the three, became an eminent and successful practitioner and writer in the law. Lyman Abbott, as you all know, has made Plymouth Church visible and audible all over the continent. It still speaks out for God, for justice, freedom and human rights. Rev. Edward Abbott is well known in his own denomination as the rector of the St. James Church, Cambridge, and widely known outside of it as the editor in chief of the Literary World. Austin Abbott, the fourth brother, was born in Boston, I think in December, 1831, and at the time of his lamented departure was little more than 64 years of age. About forty years ago I first became acquainted with him. He and his young wife were in New York, and they came to my church, although they did not unite with it. I remember my acquaintance with that bright, earnest, unsophisticated fellow and his wife when they first came. I only regretted that his change of residence took him away. I received his first book, *Conecut Corners*. He had an idea then of giving himself to a literary life; but God had a greater work for him to do, a wider and deeper far. He very soon grappled with the weightier matters of the law, and his fine strong intellect found full room for activity, not only in practice, but in preparing many valuable volumes which have become standards for the legal profession.

But it is not of Austin Abbott as an eminent pleader or writer of the law that we commemorate him to-night. Rather we think of him, not as one who taught the law, but as one who practiced the beautiful gospel. It is not Austin Abbott, the eminent legal writer, but Austin Abbott, the lover of God and of his fellow-creatures, who won our hearts and won his place among the reformers and philanthropists of our country.

You remember how he came here year after year, how he put the whole force of his legal knowledge and of his enthusiastic devotion into the deliberations of this body, and it may well be said no man exerted more power on this platform and in these annual deliberations than Dr. Austin Abbott. Let us therefore think of him to-night as one who loved the Indian and labored for him, who gave the very best of himself to better the condition of the Indian. All that he did, he did from sheer, pure love. I suppose as a lawyer he received his fees for what he did; for what he wrought for humanity he received a more precious coin, the heart coin that the Almighty gives to those who do unselfish work for his glory and the cause of humanity. Good friends, that is the only coin worth having. It is Almighty God's gold standard that never can depreciate. And now when the good man is taken away many of you may have observed the tributes paid by the public press and by Christian men and philanthropists throughout the country. It was the tribute paid to the noble, fearless, earnest, and devoted laborer for God and humanity. Good friends, it is a very pleasant thing to be admired, it is a very pleasant thing to be honored; but it is an infinitely grander thing to be loved. Austin Abbott went down to his grave loved, and his name is embalmed in the hearts of many of God's people over our country, and by more than one of those poor fellow-countrymen of ours on the frontiers, who will remember the name of Austin Abbott as one of their unselfish and devoted friends. There are many who would rather thus write their names on humanity than on marble that may perish; who would rather write their names on human hearts, though that heart be behind a black or a red skin, but a human heart that throbs with gratitude to its benefactor. And so to-night it seems that the departed have come back to revisit us. It is not those that we see with the eye that we behold to-night. It is another group that we behold with the inner eye of affectionate memory. I see in this room

to-night Rutherford Hayes and Samuel Armstrong and Clinton B. Fisk and Austin Abbott still mingling in spirit in our deliberations; still saying to us, "Brethren and sisters, be of good cheer. We have gone, but the cause remains. Men die, but the work goes on. Be of good cheer, for, by and by, it is our heavenly Father's good pleasure to give us the kingdom."

The resolution was then passed by a unanimous rising vote.

Mr. HOWARD M. JENKINS. In the warmth of the discussion this morning I felt as if there was something that I might have added to its bulk, if not to its value, but it is difficult to go back and revive the interest one felt at the time. I was much impressed, however, with the remarks that were made by Miss Scoville and Miss Collins and Dr. Young—their uniform testimony to certain strong and honorable qualities of the Indian character. It awakened in my mind two lines of thought which I want to suggest. One is moved to ask whether after all it could have been a huge mistake for Columbus to make his voyage, and whether the whole contact of the white race with the red has been a catastrophe. Because, as you study the question, the Indians seem to have had, from the very first time the whites came in contact with them, qualities which command our respect in the highest degree—qualities which the contact of the white race with them has rather served to destroy than to enhance. One fact may illustrate this inquiry: So far as we have any evidence there was not among the Indians north of Central America any knowledge whatever of the manufacture of any intoxicating drink. That is my own impression from what I have read, and I have talked here with our friend Dr. Anderson about it, and I believe it is safe to say that they had no intoxicating drink. The most notable gift, therefore, which the white people of Europe brought to these red people of America was that of intoxicants; and the account of their intercourse with us is the same story of drunkenness and demoralization, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, so far as the English races are concerned, down to the present time. The Indians had at all times an appreciation of their own situation and an understanding of the misery and wrong which drink wrought, and they constantly asked that it should be kept from them. If you will read the records of the colonial time you will find there how again and again the Indian chiefs begged that rum might not be brought among them. Answer was always made to them, "We will try." But the cupidity of the white men, and especially the traders, was such that it was not then kept away and it has never been kept away since.

Supposing all this to be true, I think the testimony to these admirable qualities of the Indian character ought to be encouraging to all friends of the Indian work, for it is certainly helpful to the desire to lift these people when we find they have these strong characteristics commanding our respect. I would adopt the suggestion made this morning that if we can bring to them our civilization in its civilized form, and our Christianity in its Christian reality, we can preserve among them these high qualities. It is to such end as that, I should hope, that the influence of the friends of the Indian can be and will be more intelligently and satisfactorily directed. We lose a great deal in all governmental attempts to improve the Indians by the failure to have consecutive and consistent administration. And all that government does must be done on broad lines and by general rule, and to some extent in a mechanical way; while the efforts of good people, such as are represented here from year to year, can be more flexible, and to a certain degree more intelligently applied to the maintenance and the conservation of those native valuable qualities which still survive in the Indian. I never have read of the Indians from the narratives of trustworthy witnesses, old or recent, without feeling impressed that in some ways they seem to have had better native qualities than the whites. It does seem to me that their fidelity to their engagements is greater than our average; and as to the one great offense that has always been charged to them—cruelty and bloodthirstiness—if you will read the annals of our own race in detail, from the time when the white people came here, you will find that the cruelties they practiced were equal to anything that we know of the Indian.

The three resolutions which had been presented to the business committee were read by Dr. Ward and adopted.

The platform was then read by Dr. W. H. Ward, who prefaced it with the following words:

Dr. WARD. In moving the adoption of this platform, allow me to say a word. There is a difference between a man of shifts and a man of principles, between a politician and a gentleman. The man who has principles has a guiding star, something which he can follow, something which will give him direction, while a man that has no principle has no polestar. I suppose that one principle which controls us is our trust in truth; and I suppose that the liberty of truth, and the liberty of discussion and of free thought, and the trust in the power of truth are about the first lessons that one needs to learn. John Milton, in his speech in defense of the liberty of unli-

censed printing, has given us that principle in the best form in which it has ever been put upon paper. It is one of the best pieces of English prose that exists. I would have every young man read it at least once a year. One who has learned the principles which are expounded there better than anywhere else in the English language has learned a lesson of the utmost importance—that the free discussion of truth can be trusted.

There is another very important principle, and that is the unity of the human race. That principle lies at the bottom of this platform. It takes a good while to learn that principle. Against that principle is the whole custom of caste, is the whole thought that a man must be put underfoot because he is not like us. That is something different from the solidarity of the human race. That is accomplished by commerce as men come into relation with one another. I am glad that the first history gives us the name Adam for the first man, a word which means man, and this includes the human race. Then we have the second Man from Heaven, introducing into this human race, this one human race on the earth, the spiritual power, the divine life that comes down from Heaven. And as by our origin we are all one, so through the divine life which comes to us from Jesus Christ we are also one; and we have the right to demand that one race shall not be treated differently from any other race, for we are all brothers of one family.

I am not one of those who believe that the difference between races is anything essential. There are differences between individuals. One has larger brain, larger power, larger capacity than another, but that is no reason why he should not give the other the same privileges, so far as the latter is able to use them. But we must remember that if the red man or the black man or the yellow man, as man, may differ in the amount of ability, may have a different amount of brain, yet the kind of brain is the same—the same power resides in it as in some large Caucasian brain. We have been told that if you take an Indian infant and put it in your home, and it grows up there, it will be to all intents and purposes like your children. The environment makes the difference. The difference is not in the nature of the soul that is there. If you take your white child—and many and many such a child there has been—and in infancy put him in an Indian home and let him be brought up with Indian children, he will grow red at heart in his sympathies and feelings as the Indians among whom he lives. I have seen such a man among the Arickarees. I believe we are all of one sort, if you come to the mind and heart. It is the environment, the surroundings, which makes the difference.

So we hold fast to that principle, and we have got to apply it, and apply it in all those great concerns which govern us in our relations one with another. This principle must govern our treatment of the Indian. What do we do for our children? We give our children such an education as will fit them for any sphere of life to which they may be called. We do not have a special Caucasian education. We want no special Indian education. We want to give the Indians the education which will make them good citizens. We can not give the best education to everyone, red or white, but we must give the choice Indian man a choice education. The same principle applies to citizenship. There is not to be a different kind of government for the Indian from what there is for the white man, and this is what we try to express in this platform. Just as soon as possible put the government of the Indian on precisely the same plane as that of the white man. Why? Because he is a white man; because he is at heart a white man. When he gets the education and the surroundings of the white man he will be a white man.

Some years ago I was visiting the Arickarees and Gros Ventres with a friend, and I was told that twenty years before a United States soldier had come to see them and had made a speech, and he told them that in twenty years they would be white men. That twenty years was almost finished, and they were thinking that the time had come when they were to be white men. Like them, we want to understand that the Indian is to be a white man—treated like a white man—because of this one great central principle that I want to have put before us and fixed in our minds, according to which we are to guide our conduct in every dealing with them. So we are to give them such a government as we have. Let them have a free government without putting them under the bondage of dealing with the agency system.

One thing more, and that has to do with religion. The Indian has the right to just the same religion that we have. Not only is he to have the white man's school and the white man's government, but also the white man's religion. We are to understand that it is not part of our duty to try to preserve something about their customs or their manners because it is picturesque or peculiar or odd as a specimen in ethnology, something to keep as a sort of living museum to be sent about the country in a show. We are to give them our civilization, we are to give them our religion, and we are to teach them to despise that which is low and that which is degrading.

And now let me say in reference to this platform, I believe it is such as this conference desires to embody. At least it appears to put into form the principles by which this conference is guided—this central principle of the unity of the human

race applied to the Indian race just as we apply it to the white race. And here I say, dear friends, we are practical. They may say that this is not practical. A practical policy requires that we should accommodate ourselves to this or that condition. But to let a bad condition continue is not practical politics, it is not real statesmanship. What we desire is that we should go forward in a straight line, what we must do is something practical and wise, and we must hew by the straight line of this great principle of the unity of the human race.

The platform was then read, section by section, and after some discussion, in which Miss Sparhawk, Senator Dawes, Mr. Lippincott, Dr. Ward, Mr. James Wood, Mr. Jenkins, and others took part, was adopted as a whole, as follows:

LAKE MOHONK PLATFORM.

We, the members of the Mohonk Indian Conference, in this its fourteenth annual meeting, gratefully recognize the progress made by our country during these years in the intelligent comprehension of the Indian problem and its equitable solution. The century of dishonor we trust is passed. The Indian has friends to watch over his rights and bring him the blessings of education and religion, while our Government, in its legislative and administrative branches, seeks the same object. The main principles are settled, and the main lines of policy have been adopted. It is admitted that the Indian is a man; and it is coming to be admitted that he must be treated like other men. Our Government is seeking to give all Indian youth an English education; the spoils system has received a deadly blow; and we are trying, as fast as is prudent, to put every Indian family on its own allotted land. But the right direction already secured needs to be maintained, and, while on the road to self-protection and citizenship, the Indian requires the protection of law and the guidance of those who love him because he is a brother man. Accordingly we make the following recommendations:

1. That the tribal system be abolished everywhere as soon as possible, and the Indian incorporated into the citizenship of the States and Territories.

2. That, accordingly, Indian agents be dispensed with wherever possible, especially where the Indians have been settled on their own allotments; and that, where it is necessary to retain an agent, preparation be made for his withdrawal in every possible way.

3. That legislation should protect the Indian against the land grabber, the gambler, and the liquor seller; and particularly that Congress should pass the liquor bill approved by Commissioner Browning, or some other bill equally stringent. We further recommend that special attention be paid to the subject of marriage and divorce among the Indians, so as to bring their family relations under the laws of the States or Territories within whose bounds they reside.

4. That the Indian agents should not be removed because of a change of administration. Further, we commend the admirable methods of the present superintendent of Indian education, and we desire that he may be retained to carry out the plans that he has inaugurated.

5. That the Indian schools be incorporated in the school systems of the several States and Territories, the United States paying the expense of the education of the Indian youth so long as they are the wards of the nation.

6. That the work of surveying the reservations should as speedily as possible be completed, so that Indians may be enabled to locate their claims.

7. That Indians on reservations should not be allowed to connect themselves with shows traveling about the world to exhibit the savagery from which we are trying to reclaim them.

8. That the anomalous and deplorable conditions in the Indian Territory should be remedied. Convinced that this can be done with justice to all parties, we desire the speedy passage of the Curtis bill which passed the House at the last session, with such modifications only as will promote its efficiency and enable the Dawes Commission to introduce the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes to the full rights of American citizenship. The utter failure of these tribes to protect the rights of citizen Indians in the tribal property lays upon our Government the obligation to enforce the fulfillment of the trust which the tribal governments assumed in behalf of the individual members of each tribe, and the duty of protecting life and property in the Territory devolves upon the United States.

9. That it is of immediate importance that the natives of Alaska be put under the protection of organized Territorial law and be prepared for citizenship.

10. That coordinate with the work of the Government in providing the best facilities for the intellectual and moral training of the Indian must be that of the preacher and teacher of religion. We therefore urge all Christian people to vigorously re-enforce the work carried on by their missionary societies during this brief transition period until the Indian shall be redeemed from paganism and incorporated into our Christian life as well as into our national citizenship.

The following resolution was then presented by Dr. R. S. MacArthur with a brief address:

"Resolved, That the hearty thanks of this Fourteenth Indian Conference be extended to Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley for their abounding, considerate, and delicate hospitality. Our honored host and hostess have given year after year rare profit and pleasure to large numbers of consecrated toilers in remote missionary fields, and to many earnest workers in various forms of humanitarian and Christian endeavor. We hope that soon a just solution may be found for the Indian problem, but frankness compels us to say that we can not without sincere solicitude contemplate the dissolution of this delightful conference. From this hotel home have gone out influences in connection with this conference, and more recently from the arbitration conference, which are girdling the globe, and which are already a great blessing to America, and are fast becoming a benediction to the nations beyond the sea."

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Bruce, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Smiley thanked the speakers cordially, though he said he had repeatedly tried to get the executive committee to drop that feature of the conference. He believed that great progress was being made in Indian affairs, but that the Christian people of the United States must not let go. "As soon as you get the Indian to become a Christian you have settled the whole question in regard to his industry and his morality," said Mr. Smiley, "and I do not believe it can be settled in any other way."

Mr. Garrett closed with a few words of congratulation on the work that has been accomplished, and, after the singing of a hymn, "God be with us till we meet again," the conference adjourned at 11 p. m.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Arbuckle, Mr. John, 315 Clinton avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Austin, Mrs. L. C., 891 Prospect street, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Avery, Miss Myra H., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Anderson, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Jos., Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.
 Barrows, Mrs. I. C., Christian Register, Boston, Mass.
 Bergen, Mr. and Mrs. Tunis G., 127 Pierrepont street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Bruce, Rev. and Mrs. James M., associate pastor Memorial Baptist Church, Yonkers, N. Y.
 Cuyler, Rev. Dr. Theodore L., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Capen, Dr. and Mrs. F. S., principal Normal School, New Paltz, N. Y.
 Coit, Rev. Joshua, secretary Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, Winchester, Mass.
 Crannell, Mrs. W. W., president Albany Indian Association, Albany, N. Y.
 Collins, Dr. Mary C., missionary Grand River, Fort Yates, N. Dak.
 Creegan, Rev. C. C., district secretary American Board Commissioners Foreign Missions, New York.
 Cuming, The Misses, 28 West Twelfth street, New York.
 Davis, Mr. and Mrs. J. W., vice-president Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
 Dreher, Dr. Julius D., president Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
 Dawes, Hon. and Mrs. Henry L., Pittsfield, Mass.
 Dawes, Miss Anna L., Pittsfield, Mass.
 Dunning, Rev. and Mrs. A. E., The Congregationalist, Boston, Mass.
 Duryea, Mrs. Samuel Bowne, Remsen street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Dwight, Miss, Stockbridge, Mass.
 Eaton, Gen. John, ex-Commissioner Education, Washington, D. C.
 Eldridge, Mrs. Mary L., Government field matron Navajo Indians, Jewett, N. Mex.
 Ferris, Mr. Robert M. and Miss, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Ferris, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. J. M., Christian Intelligencer, Flatbush, Long Island
 Fisher, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Samuel J., Swissvale, Pa.
 Frye, Mrs. M. E., president Maine Indian Association, Woodfords, Me.
 Fountain, Mr. and Mrs. Gideon, 34 East Sixty-fourth street, New York.
 Field, Mr. Franklin, Troy, N. Y.
 Frissell, Rev. Dr. H. B., principal Hampton Normal Institute, Hampton, Va.
 Foster, Rev. Addison P., eastern editor the Advance, Boston, Mass.
 Fisk, Mrs. Clinton B., president Woman's Home Missionary Society Methodist Episcopal Church, N. Y.
 Fiske, Mrs. James, Cambridge, Mass.
 Garrett, Hon. Philip C., Board United States Indian Commissioners, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Gilbert, Right Rev. M. N., St. Paul, Minn.
 Gates, President M. E., Amherst College and president Board Indian Commissioners, Amherst, Mass.
 Gilmore, Prof. J. H., University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
 Galpin, Mr. and Mrs. S. A., secretary Indian Rights Association, New Haven, Conn.

Hatfield, The Misses, 149 West Thirty-fourth street, New York.
 Hine, Hon. and Mrs. C. C., president Women's Indian Association, Newark, N. J.
 Horr, Rev. Dr. Elijah, Worcester, Mass.
 Huntington, Right Rev. and Mrs. F. D., Syracuse, N. Y.
 Hallock, Rev. and Mrs. J. N., editor Christian Work, New York.
 Hall, Mrs. Hector, Troy, N. Y.
 Hopkins, Dr. Henry.
 Hardy, Mr. Alfred, Indian Rights Association, Farmington, Conn.
 Harkness, Mr. and Mrs. William, The Margaret, Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Howry, Hon. Charles B., Assistant Attorney-General, Washington, D. C.
 Jenkins, Mr. and Mrs. Charles F., member of executive committee of Indian Rights Association, 1224 Race street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Jenkins, H. N., editor Friend's Intelligencer and Journal, 921 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 James, Hon. Darwin R., Board United States Indian Commissioners, 226 Gates avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Ives, Miss Marie E., New Haven Indian Association, New Haven, Conn.
 King, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. James M., general secretary National League for Protection of American Industries, 1 Madison avenue, New York.
 Kendrick, Mrs. Georgia M., principal Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Kinney, Mrs. Sarah T., president Connecticut Indian Association, 1162 Chapel street, New Haven, Conn.
 Leupp, Mr. and Mrs. F. E., agent Indian Rights Association, Washington, D. C.
 Lippincott, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. J. A., 110 North Seventeenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Lukens, Mr. and Mrs. Charles M., East Walnut lane, Germantown, Pa.
 Lyon, Hon. William H., Board Indian Commissioners, 170 New York avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 McElroy, Mr. and Mrs. John E., State street, Albany, N. Y.
 MacArthur, Rev. Dr. and Mrs., Calvary Baptist Church, 358 West Fifty-seventh street, New York.
 Meserve, Dr. Charles F., president Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.
 Moss, Rev. Lemuel, president American Baptist Historical Society, 3014 Berks street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin H., inspector Indian Department, Ashton, Md.
 Milne, Mrs. William J., Albany, N. Y.
 McKee, Mr. and Mrs. R. W., 695 Willoughby avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Mead, Mr. Charles L., chairman executive committee American Missionary Association, 29 Chambers street, New York.
 Pratt, Capt. and Mrs. R. H., Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.
 Plimpton, Mr. and Mrs. G. A., 70 Fifth avenue, New York.
 Pierce, Mrs. Moses, Norwich, Conn.
 Quinton, Mrs. A. S., president Woman's National Indian Association, 1414 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Ryder, Rev. Dr. C. J., corresponding secretary American Missionary Association, Bible House, New York.
 Roy, Rev. J. E., secretary American Missionary Association, western district, 151 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.
 Robinson, Maj. H. M., associate editor New York Observer, New York.
 Rudd, Rev. Edward H., Albion, N. Y.
 Ridley, Mrs. Edward, Hotel Endicott, New York.
 Smiley, Mr. Alfred H., Minnewaska, N. Y.
 Smiley, Miss Sarah F., New York.
 Seelye, Dr. and Mrs. L. Clark, president Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
 Strieby, Rev. Dr. M. E., corresponding secretary American Missionary Association, Bible House, New York.
 Stimson, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. H. A., Broadway Tabernacle, New York.
 Sparhawk, Miss F. C., secretary Indian Industries League, Newton Center, Mass.
 Smith, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. George W., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
 Smith, Miss Helen Shelton, 17 West Seventeenth street, New York.
 Shelton, Rev. and Mrs. C. W., eastern field secretary Congregational Home Missionary Society, Derby, Conn.
 Strong, Dr. James W., president Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
 Shaw, Rev. Dr. John B., West End Presbyterian Church, New York.
 Scoville, Miss Anna B., Hampton Normal Institute, Hampton, Va.
 Schieffelin, Mr. William Jay, 35 West Fifty-seventh street, New York.
 Salisbury, Miss, Minnesota.
 Talcott, Mr. and Mrs. James M., 7 West Fifty-seventh street, New York.
 Taylor, Dr. and Mrs. J. M., president Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Thompson, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. C. L., Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York.
 Turner, Rev. H. B., chaplain Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

Tillinghast, Mrs. I. N., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Van Slyke, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. J. G., First Reformed Church, Kingston, N. Y.
 Van Norden, Mr. Warner, president National Bank of North America, New York.
 Wood, Mr. and Mrs. Frank, Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
 Wynkoop, Mr. Francis and Miss, 159 West Twenty-first street, New York.
 Wood, Mr. and Mrs. James, Mount Kisco, N. Y.
 Wood, Mr. and Mrs. Henry, Mount Kisco, N. Y.
 Whittlesey, Gen. and Mrs. E., secretary Board Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.
 Ward, Rev. Dr. William H., editor Independent, New York.
 Wortman, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Denis, Reformed Church, Saugerties, N. Y.
 Welsh, Mr. Herbert, corresponding secretary Indian Rights Association, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Williams, Mr. and Mrs. John J., 401 Clinton avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Whipple, Right Rev. H. B., Board United States Indian Commissioners, Faribault, Minn.
 Winslow, Miss F. E., assistant editor The Churchman New York.
 Young, Rev. Egerton K., Toronto, Canada.

JOURNAL OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS AND THE SECRETARIES OF THE RELIGIOUS MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners and the secretaries of the religious missionary societies was called to order at 10 a. m. January 20, 1897, by Mr. Darwin E. James.

Mr. JAMES. We had our twenty-eight years of history reviewed yesterday by our beloved secretary, for so long a time has elapsed since General Grant laid out this scheme of work. It was laid out on a broader basis than is carried out to-day, our duties having been circumscribed through legislation, but I believe it is still a necessary organization, and one which perhaps should be continued as not having outgrown its usefulness. As General Whittlesey said in his report, General Grant, twenty-eight years ago, thought that by the close of this century the work could be done and the Indian question could be settled. But it is not yet settled, and our board, although perhaps it has an insignificant part in this work, sees that there is very much left to be done in many directions.

This annual conference is the time when we call here the different secretaries of the religious bodies, that we may hear what is being done by them. The work of the missionary goes to the bottom. The Government is doing a magnificent work, improving from year to year under our present Commissioner. There was improvement under his predecessor, but it has never been so rapid as now. This is largely due, also, to the religious organizations, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, and those who work with them in their line for the education and betterment of the Indian, as our religious denominations are working for his spiritual and religious betterment. It is for this reason that my heart is deeply interested in the spiritual care of the red man. We shall listen to the reports from the various societies, and I will first ask Dr. Fisher to open with prayer.

After prayer by Dr. Fisher, it was voted that the chair should appoint a business committee of five, and the following persons were named: Mr. Charles F. Meserve, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Mr. E. M. Wistar, and Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk.

The first report was made by Dr. C. J. Ryder, of the American Missionary Association.

THE WORK OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION AMONG THE INDIANS.

[Rev. C. J. Ryder, D. D., corresponding secretary.]

GEOGRAPHICALLY.

The field occupied by the Indian missions of the American Missionary Association represents six States and Territories. The statistics of the work have not materially changed since the report was presented to this Commission last year. They are presented in the following table:

Churches	15
Membership of churches	929
Missionaries and teachers	82
Schools	21
Pupils	520
Missionary outstations	26
Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, missionaries	2

CHURCHES AND OUTSTATIONS.

In the number of churches and in the membership of the churches there has been a reasonable growth. Missionary outstations have also increased in number and efficiency. These outstations are occupied by Christian Indians, a man and his wife, and are object lessons to the Indians in the surrounding tribes. Some of these young men and women who have given themselves to this life have entered it at a great personal sacrifice. There is a quality of Christian heroism developed on the part of these Indian missionaries which has often been a surprise to me. In one case a young man felt called to enter the mission service of the American Missionary Association for his own people and occupy one of these outstations. His wife, a graduate of Santee Normal Training School and a splendid young woman, was reluctant to go. They made it a subject of special prayer at the altar of their little home. Finally, with tears and deep conviction, she agreed that it was their duty, and they went together and the success of their work has proved that the appointment was according to the Spirit.

Last year when I visited South Dakota fifteen of these Indian missionaries from outstations met me. They were as fine a body of men physically as I have ever met. The missionaries, who testified of their character, bore witness that they were of strong intellectual power and deep spiritual earnestness.

The work of these native missionaries presents the most hopeful sign of the Indian work, and furnishes a most potent factor for the solution of the Indian problem.

A new Congregational meetinghouse was dedicated at one of these outstations at Blue Clouds village and a church organized on the Moreau River. The latter mission is supported entirely by the Native Indian Missionary Society, and does not come upon the treasury of any society of the Eastern churches.

The spirit of benevolence is also rapidly developing among the Indians. A contribution from the Native Indian Missionary Society came to the treasury of the American Missionary Association in answer to the appeals for the jubilee share fund. This amount, contributed entirely by the Indians, amounted to \$300. The natural, large-hearted generosity of the Indians is thus being directed in the channel of Christian benevolence.

HOSPITAL.

The Fort Yates Hospital, to which special attention has been called in former reports, has been open during the year. An effort has been made to gather from the physician in charge facts which will be of scientific importance along lines of investigation which have been somewhat neglected. The patients who are treated by the physician at this hospital are largely women and children. The following table shows their numbers for eleven months:

Number of inside patients.....	27
Number of outside patients.....	731
Total number of patients.....	758

These were as follows:

Children.....	296
Adults.....	462

Reports which are sent from the physician at this hospital each month to the office of the American Missionary Association contain answers to questions concerning the character of the diseases to which the Indians are especially subject. In generalizing, our physician, under date of October 9, 1896, says:

"I am trying to find out about the population of the Indians on this reservation. I think they are decreasing. * * * There were ten more deaths than births the past year. I have talked with Dr. Ross and several of the field matrons in regard to the increase or decrease of tuberculosis. Dr. Ross says he can not tell anything about it, as so many persons die who do not have medical treatment and their case is not diagnosed. The field matrons think the disease is decreasing, being due to proper care and food."

This is only the testimony of a single physician, but is the result of careful investigation. May I suggest that other benevolent societies having hospitals among the Indians adopt somewhat the same system introduced this year by the American Missionary Association, so that by the collation and comparison of the facts questions of much importance may be definitely and positively settled?

SCHOOLS.

Santee Normal Training School at Santee Agency, Nebr., is the center of the Indian work of the American Missionary Association. The students in this institu-

tion have been of very superior quality during the past year. Through the curtailment of appropriations only a part of those who desired to enter this institution could be accommodated. This gives Dr. A. L. Riggs, who is the principal of the school, and his associate teachers the opportunity of selecting the best. The progress of the work of Christian civilization among the Indians as a whole is nowhere more evident than at this school. It is not simply that individual pupils develop more rapidly along intellectual lines, and grasp Christian truth more readily, but the body of pupils as a whole is greatly improved. The influence of such an institution as this is not measured by its effect upon the pupils alone. It reaches out and is felt among the parents and members of the various Indian families that do not attend the school.

Oahe School, South Dakota, and Fort Berthold Home School, North Dakota, have both of them had the full quota of pupils allowed on the restricted appropriations and have carried on a useful work. In all these American Missionary Association institutions industrial training has been an important factor. Considerable numbers of young men trained in different trades find work at Government stations or among white settlers near by.

At Santee the principal and teachers are especially alert in seeking such places for their graduates. "A home planting department" of correspondence has been more or less vigorously carried on. The plan is to secure places among farmers, printers, and other trades in neighboring cities and villages. There are no remarkable facts to report in this line of effort, but doubtless the future will bring larger results. The Western people understand the Indians. The expenses of transportation are much less and the conditions of life and industry, especially in farming, are much more familiar to the Indians in the West than in the East. We are hoping that little by little this department of correspondence at Santee may develop and be of much use.

The educational missionary work of Prof. Frederick B. Riggs, who, with stereopticon and simple physical apparatus, covers the prairie with his work, has been carried on during the year with great satisfaction. No one who has not witnessed the intense interest of the Indians in the pictures thrown upon the canvas, and in simple physical experiments as given in their own scattered villages, can appreciate the significance of this unique and remarkable work.

At the jubilee meeting of the American Missionary Association in Boston, in October, a portion of the large industrial exhibit was given to the Indian schools. Many remarked upon the varied character of the products of these industrial departments and the excellent workmanship displayed. The Indian, as a rule, surpasses any of the other depressed races in America in printing. At Santee, from which the best samples of printing came, a large job work is done for the white people in the surrounding communities, which helps support the school.

ALASKA.

The mission in Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, temporarily closed last year, has been reopened, and Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Lopp have entered upon the work there. From recent letters received we learn that the natives welcomed them back and that the work opens with great promise. The reindeer herd has been sustained during the absence of the teachers through the cordial assistance of the Government. They are proving among the Eskimo all that Dr. Sheldon Jackson prophesied for them when he conceived the very wise plan of their introduction.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

[By Joseph J. Janney.]

From New York I have the statement that two members of their committee of Indian affairs visited several of the schools in the West during the past year—the Ramona school at Santa Fe, N. Mex., the Government school at Ferris, Cal., and the Catholic Mission school at San Diego. The visitors thought the school at Ferris to be well equipped both in buildings and supplies, teachers and care takers, but in the school at San Diego they saw "nothing to commend but much to deplore."

New York meeting reports no other active work, but I can say, on my own responsibility, that New York Friends have ever stood ready with their money and their personal influence to assist in any measure looking to the protection of the rights of the Indians.

From the reports of the committee on Indian affairs of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, made at the last two sessions, I gather that considerable interest is manifested in the subject by those attending the meetings of the committee, but that little active work has been undertaken.

The committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, on account of its proximity to the

capital, and also, it may be justly claimed, from a real interest in the subject, has been able to maintain a measurable degree of activity in some branches of Indian work, and to keep in close touch with the authorities in the Indian Department of the Government.

The weakening of the prohibitory liquor law by contradictory decisions in the courts of Nebraska and South Dakota has opened a wide door for the entrance of unlimited evil to the Indians.

The Baltimore committee has maintained an active interest in that branch of education known as field-matron work, and has continued an official patronage of several agencies where it is in operation, and where moral and material support have been furnished at intervals since the inauguration of the system. The income from the Indian fund held in trust by Baltimore Yearly Meeting is used for this purpose, and it has also been drawn upon frequently during the last two years for various purposes in connection with Indian work.

In the way of general remarks, it may be stated that although the avenues of usefulness formerly open to Friends are mostly closed or occupied more fittingly by others, there is still enough promise of good results from wise efforts in behalf of the Indians to justify our continuance in the field. It is a satisfaction to know that we have not impaired our standing before any Department of the Government as unselfish and consistent friends of the red man.

REPORT OF THE SOCIETY OF ORTHODOX FRIENDS.

[By E. M. Wistar.]

The associated executive committee of Friends on Indian affairs is now in its twenty-eighth year, and is continuing its efforts through its workers in Oklahoma and Indian Territories.

There are at present nine mission stations which are under our care and support and which report monthly to our subcommittee on religious interests and education.

Statistical statements, with collateral and incidental information, are sent at the close of each month to our superintendents, George N. and L. Ella Hartley, at Tecumseh, Okla. These are received and, together with their annotations, are forwarded to the chairman of the above committee, who in turn again starts them, together with a letter of his own, addressed to his committee. Having gone the round of the committee, who live widely apart, they are finally lodged in the chairman's hands for future reference—each of the committee, however, having had his opportunity to glean recent information and to give comment or suggestion as may seem best.

According to the last monthly reports there are being held at the nine mission stations, and at other places tributary to them, twenty regular first-day meetings, which have an average total attendance of about 1,014. Of these nearly one-half are Indian Friends. A number of midweek meetings are also held, and 9 Bible schools are conducted with a total average attendance of about 370, while further christianizing and civilizing effort is extended by family visits. The reports for last month show that seven of our most valued workers made a total of 161 such visits during the month. The influence of these visits in the course of a year we believe to be far reaching, and being made in gospel love and with definite desires for the best welfare of those visited, have often been much blessed.

During recent years there have come several occasions when Friends have realized that pillars of our Indian mission structure, both East and West, had fallen, and that death had stripped us of supporters upon whom we had depended, nevertheless the work has been pushed forward. The good seed has been sown, and as we have been faithful so have we had results which can but strengthen and encourage to continued effort.

Slowly our scene of action shifts from year to year, as aggressive measures may carry the missionaries into new districts. An instance of this is the establishment of a mission station the past year among the Iowas, they having finally agreed to settle on their allotments. A school has been started and meetings now regularly held in their midst.

Besides, the association of mission work at some Government schools we have had under our care 4 schools with about one hundred Indian children enrolled. At two of these institutions some of the children are boarders. All of them seem able to make progress, which is very gratifying to their teachers and to our associated committee. At some places, notably at Skiatook School, Christian Endeavor societies are maintained.

Reference being had to a collation of figures for our last annual report to our yearly meetings, we find that in addition to the regular meetings for worship noted above "there have been 265 others, including 13 series of meetings, resulting in 71 professed conversions and in the strengthening of the membership. The number of miles

traveled by our missionaries in the attendance of their meetings during the year is 9,468." The last published statement of our treasurer showed the year's receipts to be \$6,503.

Besides this, Philadelphia yearly meeting continues its industrial boarding school at Tunasassa, with \$2,500 appropriated toward current expenses; and some of the other yearly meetings have conducted work among the Indians which has not been under the care of the associated committee, so that it will be safe to state that the joint contributions of Orthodox Friends in America for religious and educational mission work among the Indians will exceed \$10,000 for the year.

In conclusion, we recall at this time the quiet and triumphant death of a man who was at one time a wild Indian of a wild tribe. Scar Faced Charlie was a Modoc chief, who, under the influences of redeeming love, was brought to live a true Christian's life. A recent letter from Modoc Mission to a Friend in the East says: "Exhorting one of his Indian friends to be ready, he said: 'I prayed when I was well. I have nothing to do now.' He told him he had seen the land to which he was going, and it looked like a rainbow, and that there were great buildings there that he could not describe. With slight exception his mind was clear, * * * and his bedside was a hallowed place. So patient, so grateful, so trusting, as we looked at his dark, scarred, and disease-worn face, we could realize that we were indeed gazing at one of God's saints."

One of the Kickapoos, a prominent man in a tribe still much opposed to civilization and religion, was converted some two years ago, and during the past year he has frequently testified in meeting of his continued happiness and joy in his faith in Christ.

While it would not seem desirable to occupy much of the time of the conference with such narration as the above, it may be that out of many reasons for encouragement in the work of civilizing and Christianizing the remnants of the tribes these cases, taken from many, may be a proper addition to the simple figures of the year. Considering our capital involved, we have been blessed with large returns. We wish to extend a word of sympathy and encouragement to our coworkers in the cause.

MISSIONARY AND EDUCATIONAL WORK CARRIED ON AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS BY THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.

[By Dr. M. McVicar.]

MISSIONARY WORK.

First. The work of the society is confined almost exclusively to the Indians residing in Indian and Oklahoma Territories. It employs one general missionary—Rev. J. S. Murrow, D. D., Atoka, Ind. T.—who devotes his entire time to the work of preaching and supervision. He has spent more than a third of a century in the work, and reports that he has seen very beneficial changes wrought among the Indians by the missionaries and teachers sent among them. There are to-day probably 4,000 Indians in the two Territories who are members of Baptist churches. Usually they belong to churches composed exclusively of Indians, but occasionally they unite with churches composed chiefly of white people. Several of the Indian churches are ministered to by native pastors, some of whom are men of piety, intelligence, and decided ability as preachers and pastors. Religious life among these Indian converts compares in all respects very favorably with that among American pioneer churches.

During the last four years the society has enlarged its work, especially among the Indians living in Oklahoma Territory. At Anadarko, Rainy Mountain, Elk Creek, and in the vicinity of Fort Sill are four mission stations for the Wichitas, Kiowas, and Comanches. At each station the effort is being made to develop a farm, partly with the idea of deriving an income from it to be used in meeting a part of the expenses of the mission, partly with a view of supplying the missionaries with milk, eggs, vegetables, etc., produced on the farm, which they would otherwise find it difficult to procure; but the chief object in the development of these farms is to afford an object lesson to the Indians and to stimulate them in establishing and conducting similar farms for themselves. At each mission station there have been erected suitable buildings, including chapels, parsonages, etc. The grounds have been ornamented with shade trees, an orchard has been planted, a garden cultivated, some stock cattle have been purchased, wells have been dug, and cisterns constructed. Last year the experiment was undertaken of growing alfalfa, with such success that an enlarged acreage will be seeded in the near future. The chief difficulty which has been encountered in these farming operations has been the uncertain and insufficient rainfall, and it is an open question whether the farms can be made even self-supporting, and especially without some means of artificial irrigation. It is the present purpose



to experiment with windmills during the coming season, to see whether by that means water can be raised from the wells for domestic use, stock purposes, and for a limited irrigation.

The missionaries report that the Indians are greatly interested in these operations and are already imitating the work by building houses, fencing their lands, and attempting to cultivate them.

Two chapels will soon be erected among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, where Missionary Hamilton has been very successful in his work of evangelization. Already a Cheyenne Indian Baptist Church has been organized, with probably thirty members. The first Kiowa Baptist Church at Rainy Mountain numbers more than fifty, and includes among its members Chiefs Big Tree, Lone Wolf, and other prominent representatives of the tribe.

It is too soon to pronounce any final judgment as to this missionary work among these interesting people, but from present appearances there is reason to hope that the work is genuine and full of promise. For the year ending March 31, 1896, the society had under appointment twenty-three missionaries among the Indians and expended \$10,342.76.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Second. For many years the society has fostered education and has sent out a number of men and women fairly well equipped for their life's work. It sustains four schools: (1) The Indian University at Bacone, Ind. T.; the value of property, \$20,000; 6 teachers; 54 pupils; Rev. M. L. Brown, acting president; total expenditure for the year 1895-96, \$10,710, of which amount the American Baptist Home Mission Society contributed \$3,350 and the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, Boston, \$400. There is a farm connected with the school and attention is paid to industrial training as well as to literary work. (2) Atoka Academy, Atoka, Ind. T., Rev. E. H. Rishel, principal; value of property, \$8,000; total expenditures for the last year, \$5,985, of which the American Baptist Home Mission Society contributed \$1,025; the Woman's Society, \$800; 5 teachers and 163 pupils. Farming and other industrial work is carried on. (3) Cherokee Academy, Tahlequah, Ind. T., Rev. Daniel Rogers, superintendent; value of property, \$5,000; total expenditure for last year, \$3,660, of which the society contributed \$2,650; two teachers; 67 pupils. A farm is run in connection with the school, and special attention is being given to fruit raising. (4) Anadarko, Okla., Rev. D. N. Crance, principal; value of property, \$4,000; 3 teachers; 23 pupils. In addition to the work done by the American Baptist Home Mission Society enumerated above, and of that done by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society of New England, cooperating with the parent society, several women missionaries supported by the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society of Chicago are working very effectively among the Kiowas, Comanches, and other tribes.

Mr. MESERVE. May I add a word as to Scar Faced Charlie? I knew him personally. He was the one who loaded the rifles for Captain Jack, the leader of the Modocs in the massacre among the lava beds. Four years ago I was at Quapaw about noon. I found him on a piece of land of 40 acres that he had just finished plowing, and in talking he said: "I plow like a white man, I dress like a white man, on these 40 acres I raise things like a white man." After seeing him and talking with him, and thinking of him as he was formerly, I felt like saying, "What hath God wrought?"

Mr. J. J. Janney said that he wished in behalf of the Hicksite Friends to say that they made no report because their work was so unimportant that they did not think it fair to present it. Reports are made of their philanthropic union, copies of which he was ready to distribute.

Dr. McVICAR. The schools are under my care, but I have not visited them this year. I shall visit those in the Indian Territory next month, probably. For last year I can report that excellent work was done in these schools. The Christian element is improving, and in the Indian University we have fourteen young men pursuing a college course such as you find in schools of that kind—not such as our Northern colleges furnish. It is sufficient to prepare them for excellent work among their people as missionaries and teachers. We find it exceedingly difficult to maintain schools on account of the fact that the Indians are unable to afford to pay board and tuition. Some of the other schools are maintained largely by having the board of the pupils paid almost entirely. Our society is not able to carry on the schools on that plan, and as far as possible the students are made to pay their own expenses. The teachers are paid by the society. We believe in creating among the Indians a spirit of independence. Among the Seminoles, who are wealthy, the school is supported by themselves. The difficulty is to create a willingness to spend money for this in the way of getting an education.

MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[By Rev. A. B. Leonard, secretary.]

The appropriations made for the support of Indian missions during the year 1897 were \$8,937. We do not have the details of our Indian work in this office, as it is administered through our annual conferences under the supervision of the presiding elders and missionaries. The reports are made to the annual conferences and included in the annual reports of those bodies. I may say, in a general way, that the work is as prosperous as could probably be expected, considering the embarrassed circumstances under which much of it is carried forward.

METHODIST SOUTH BOARD OF MISSIONS.

[By Rev. I. G. John, D. D.]

We are glad to say that, on the whole, the cause of education in our conference is onward and upward.

Willie Halsell College, located at Vinita, Ind. T., has an enrollment of 175, which is the largest enrollment in the history of the institution at this time of the scholastic year.

White Bead Hill reports, through Mrs. W. L. Woods, principal, an enrollment of 48 pupils.

Methvin Institute, under the ownership and care of the Woman's Board of Missions, reports through Rev. J. J. Methvin, superintendent, a prosperous year. There are 36 Kiowas, 7 Comanches, 1 Apache, and 4 white students, making a total of 48.

Harrell International Institute, located at Muscogee, Ind. T., reports through its president, Rev. Theo. F. Brewer, a fine opening. There are now 11 teachers and nearly 200 students.

From all sources at our command we have good tidings of our church throughout the bounds of the Indian Mission Conference. It has been a year of revivals among us, God has been with us, and Methodism has not lost its old-time fire. We believe that the spiritual state of our church in this field is better than it was last year, perhaps better than ever before.

MENNONITE MISSION BOARD.

[By A. B. Shelly.]

The schools are continued as before and have been well filled with pupils the year round. Some of our former pupils have left the schools during the past year, some of them going to Eastern schools and others to the Government schools upon the reservation, while others are not attending any school. The places thus made vacant were, however, filled by others, so that the number of children attending our schools remained about the same as before—about 45 at Darlington and from 75 to 80 at Cantonment. Of them, some at least have made laudable progress in their respective studies, and by the religious influence exerted at school they have been drawn away from their heathen customs toward Christianity. A few of them during the past year accepted Christ, openly confessing their belief in him, and were by the rite of baptism received as members of Christ's church. It is this religious feature of our mission schools that in a special manner commends them to the favor and support of all Christian people. Our schools are to be mission schools in the sense which the term mission implies. While in them the different branches of a secular education are in nowise to be discarded, yet a main feature of these schools must be to win those attending them for Christ and his church. The object of mission work among the Indians is to give them a Christian civilization. In order to accomplish this both their mental and their spiritual faculties must be developed. Secular and religious training must go hand in hand if our object is to be accomplished. It is for this cause that we advocate the continuance of mission schools in which the young Indian receives both secular and religious instructions.

Besides the work in the schools, mission work among the older Indians was continued as before. One of our missionaries who has, besides his other mission work, made the study of the Cheyenne language a specialty, has so far succeeded in learning and organizing that language that he was enabled to have some parts of Scripture as well as a number of hymns translated for the use of the Indians, in addition to the Cheyenne Reading Book, which was published a few years ago, and which likewise contains a number of Scripture translations.

Our missionaries engaged among the Arapahoe Indians have likewise diligently applied themselves to the study of the Arapahoe language, and with marked success. They preach the gospel to the Indians partly by means of interpreters and partly in

their own tongue. All of them agree that the latter method is to be preferred wherever it can be used.

Our missionary among the Moqui Indians in Arizona reports encouraging progress in his work. The more he learns of the nature of these Indians and of their religious ideas and ceremonies the more it manifests itself that this is an exceedingly hard field of labor. As yet there seems to be no special desire among these Indians for something better, yet their hard hearts are beginning to be softened and the way to them is gradually opening. It may take some time yet before the gospel of Christ will bring forth any visible results among them, but the results will finally come. Rev. Voth, our missionary among this people, has made much progress during the past year in the study of the Moqui language and in learning their religious ideas, customs, and ceremonies. He is now able to speak to them of the mighty works of God in their own tongue. And being familiar with their heathen ideas, he is the better prepared to refute them by holding forth to them the doctrine of salvation as taught by Christ and His Apostles. He, too, recognizes the fact that the gospel preached to the Indians in their own language contains much greater force than when presented to them by means of interpreters.

Our board had in active employment upon its different mission stations during the year twelve male and twelve female workers. Six males and several females were engaged in actual mission work outside of the schools while the rest of them were exclusively connected with the work at the schools. The amount expended during the year, exclusive of what was contributed by the Government in the shape of rations and clothing and what was donated by aid societies, sewing circles, etc., aggregates \$5,498.33. Of this sum the Government furnished \$1,062.50, as per contract for the contract school at Halstead.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS.

[By J. Taylor Hamilton.]

During the past year steps have been taken preliminary to the transfer of our missions among the Cherokees in the Indian Territory to the Home Mission Board of our church. The outlook there appears to be more encouraging than hitherto. It is hoped that eventually self-supporting congregations may be developed.

A new mission was commenced this summer in conjunction with the Women's National Indian Auxiliary Association, the Rev. David Woosely and wife having been sent for this purpose to Martinez, in southern California, to found an enterprise among the desert Indians. From the Potrero, on the Banning Reserve, encouraging news has been received.

Our work in the Kuskokwim and Nushegak valleys of Alaska, where 15 missionaries now labor, goes forward. The native membership now numbers more than 300. The development of native assistant missionaries is one of the most pleasing features of this evangelization of the Eskimos. Three boarding schools are maintained—last year without Government aid. During the summer the mission force on the Kuskokwims was increased by the dispatching of Herman Ronig, M. D., whose wife was formerly a professional nurse. Thus more attention than ever is to be given to medical missionary labor here.

Our society expended for aborigines of the continent \$13,500 during the year that is just past.

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS.

[By Dr. William C. Roberts.]

The total Indian population of the United States, exclusive of Alaska, is 249,273, but it must be understood that these are not all in the native wild state, neither armed with bows and arrows nor comparisoned with feathers, red blankets, and beads, nor provided with tomahawks and scalping knives. Indeed, very few tribes remain to this day in the garb and habit of the typical Indian.

We can not go very fully into a discussion of the various theories of dealing with this people, but we can confidently affirm that the great problems that now confront us are their civilization, education, and religious training. The first of these we have not space to discuss, but must pass it by with the single remark that it involves the breaking up of the tribal relation, the allotment of lands in severalty, and the equal protection of the Indian with all other citizens under the laws of our common country. Very gratifying progress has been made in this direction.

EDUCATION.

The work of education belongs to the General Government, upon whom the Indians have indisputable claims both as wards and as pensioners. It must be conceded, however, that the foundation of all real progress in educating the Indians was laid

by the mission schools of the various religious denominations who have wrought among them all through this century. In the earliest stages of such a work methods were needful which the Government could not employ; but taking the educational work at a certain stage of its progress the Government has wisely assumed the entire expense and control of a large part of it, while all the Protestant denominations have relinquished Government aid and have continued educational work entirely at their own expense in the spirit of Christian missions. But with all the efforts of Government and mission boards only about two-thirds of the Indians of school-going age are provided with instruction. The mission schools have led up to the organization of churches.

SPIRITUAL INTERESTS.

The spiritual interests of Indians are left, of course, to the care of the churches and their missionaries. The results have certainly satisfied all reasonable expectations. The facts and statistics of the Presbyterian church among the Indians at the present time may be briefly summed up as follows:

We have churches in 10 States and 3 Territories and among 18 different tribes.

In the State of New York, among the Six Nations, there are 6 churches with an aggregate membership of 469 and 5 Sabbath schools with 364 scholars. Among these there are 2 white ministers and 9 Indian helpers.

In Wisconsin we have 1 church among the Stockbridge Indians with 15 members, one among the Chippewas with 50 members and a Sabbath school with 30 scholars.

In Minnesota there is 1 church with 31 members and a Sabbath school with 48 scholars.

In Nebraska there is 1 church among the Winnebagoes with 17 members and a Sabbath school with 120 scholars. Among the Omahas in that State there are 2 churches with 51 members and 2 Sabbath schools with 67 scholars.

In North Dakota there are 3 churches among the Sioux with 103 members and 3 Sabbath schools with 42 members. Each of these churches has an Indian pastor.

In South Dakota we have 18 churches with 1,146 members, 14 Sabbath schools with 529 scholars. These churches are ministered to by 15 Indians and 3 white ministers. The enrollment of the Sabbath schools does not tell the whole story of the religious training of the youth. There are connected with all these churches schools for religious as well as industrial training of the children.

Among the Sioux in the northeastern part of Montana, we have 1 church with 52 members and 243 scholars in the Sabbath school. An Indian minister has charge of this church. The churches and ministers of North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Montana constitute an Indian presbytery.

Among the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory, we have 22 churches with 1,144 members, 15 Sabbath schools with 700 scholars, all under the care of 17 white ministers and 11 Indian ministers, evangelists, and helpers. There are scores of Indian members connected with our white churches in this Territory that are not enumerated in the membership given above.

Among the Pueblos of New Mexico, situated at the Pueblo of Laguna, we have a church of 11 members, a Sabbath school at the same place, and one at the neighboring Pueblo of Seama with an aggregate enrollment of 50 scholars.

Among the Pimas and Papagoes, affiliated tribes, we have 1 church of 203 members with half a dozen mission stations under the pastoral care of Rev. Charles Cook and two Indian helpers. There is a Sabbath school in connection with this church with 200 scholars.

Among the Nez Percés Indians, in northern Idaho, we have 5 churches with 425 members; 4 Sabbath schools with 301 scholars. Nine Indian ministers are in charge of these churches, all of whom were trained by that remarkable woman, Miss Sue L. McBeth. Just over the line, in Oregon, there is a church of 60 members and a Sabbath school of 54 scholars among the Umatillas, and over in eastern Washington, among the Spokanes, another tribe closely affiliated with the Nez Percés, we have 2 churches with 76 members, and 2 Sabbath schools with 80 scholars. This work all rests upon the solid basis of sixty years of faithful training, which was begun by those faithful missionaries, Drs. Whitman, Spaulding, and Eells. In the western part of Washington, near the city of Tacoma, among the Puyallup Indians, we have 3 churches with 170 members, and 2 Sabbath schools with 294 scholars, all under the pastoral care of one white minister, the Rev. J. M. Pamment.

So far as these great results can be tabulated the aggregates are: Sixty-nine churches, 4,030 members, 54 Sabbath schools with 3,078 scholars, and 50 Indian ministers and 28 white ministers laboring among the Indians. They contributed last year to congregational expenses and the boards of our church, \$12,745.05.

In all this statement no account has been taken of the school work, and only occasional reference has been made to outlying mission stations among the tribes. There is not space to mention individually the noble missionaries who are carrying on this great work. At best, cold figures convey an inadequate idea of the religious, social,

and moral results among the aborigines of our country. They give a sadly inadequate conception of the general uplift of the tribes among whom we are laboring. In it all no mention is made of the many tribes that are as ready for missionary work as these, and among whom no missionary of the cross has ever yet been sent, and who in the very heart of this great, rich, Christian land are passing on to death without a knowledge of the Saviour who died for them.

PRESBYTERIAN HOME MISSIONS—SOUTH.

[By Rev. J. N. Craig, D. D.]

During the last year the Presbyterian Church in the United States, popularly known as the Southern Presbyterian Church, has had 5 white and 5 Indian ministers or licentiates at work as missionaries among Choctaws and Chickasaws. We have also had 2 high schools, 11 teachers, and 6 neighborhood schools with perhaps 490 pupils enrolled, including both white and Indian children. How many of each, I am not able to say.

Our expenditure was \$6,032.

STATEMENT OF WORK AMONG THE INDIANS UNDER THE CARE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[By Rev. William S. Langford, D. D.]

In Alaska we have 1 bishop and 6 missionaries—3 at Anvik, 2 at Circle City, and 1 at Point Hope.

In Arizona the Right Rev. Dr. Kendrick is doing missionary work among the Navajos at Fort Defiance, where there is a hospital under the direction of Miss Eliza W. Thackara. A new building for this medical work has been erected during the past year. The Navajos number from 18,000 to 20,000.

In the diocese of Fond du Lac, under the care of the Right Rev. Dr. Grafton, the oldest missionary work of the church among the Indians is maintained among the Oneidas. On the reservation our faithful missionaries, the Rev. S. S. Burleson, his family, the Rev. Cornelius Hill (an Indian), and two mission Sisters of the Society of the Holy Nativity (one a trained nurse) have been doing noble work. The Sisters have charge of the hospital. A mission school is conducted daily. The best men of the tribe have received their education at this school. The congregation is made up of 1,000 baptized persons and nearly two hundred communicants, and these are scattered through the woods over an area 12 miles by 9. The Rev. Mr. Burleson, besides ministering to the souls of the tribe, is able to allay bodily suffering as he is a physician and surgeon.

The work in the Indian Territory, under the charge of the Right Rev. Dr. Brooke, is cared for among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes by the Rev. D. A. Sanford, the Rev. David Pendleton Oakerhater, a Cheyenne deacon, and Mr. Luke Bearshield, a native Catechist. The missionaries dwell in tents, there being as yet no chapel, schoolhouse, or residence. The number of baptisms has considerably increased, and there were seven persons confirmed during the past year. Miss Ida Roff—sent by Miss Sybil Carter—at Anadarko, the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, is teaching the Indian women to make lace and doing such evangelistic work as she can.

In Nevada and Utah, the jurisdiction of the Right Rev. Dr. A. Leonard, Miss Marion Taylor has labored for over a year at the Nevada Indian Agency, in Nevada. The Bishop speaks of her as a devoted, earnest, and unselfish missionary, and reports the work as most encouraging. In Utah a suitable chapel and a house containing four rooms have been built on the Uncompahgre Indian Reservation. The Rev. George S. Vest is the missionary at this point, and has undertaken, with patience, interest, and love, the instruction of the Ute Indians. Mr. Vest has for his field a territory embraced within a circle whose radius is more than 200 miles, and there is no house of prayer in all this district save this little Church of the Holy Spirit.

The Indian work in Minnesota is in the new missionary district of Duluth. It has the episcopal oversight of the Right Rev. Dr. Whipple and the Right Rev. Dr. Gilbert, and is the especial care of Archdeacon Gilfillan, who lives at White Earth. The Rev. J. J. Enmegahbowh and the Rev. Fred Smith live at the same place, the Rev. Mr. Smith being in charge of St. Columba's Church. At Gull Lake Settlement, where there is a parsonage and schoolhouse, the work is carried on by Mr. and Mrs. Denley. At Twin Lakes there is a church and rectory, the Rev. Louis Manypenny being the minister in charge. A new mission has been started at Wild Rice River under the care of the Rev. Joseph Wakazoo. At Beaulieu, where the church and parsonage of the Epiphany is located, the Rev. Mark Hart is the missionary. At Red Lake, where there are two churches, one at the agency and one at Old Chief's

village, the Rev. Mr. Willis ministers to the Indians. At Cass Lake is the little chapel of the Prince of Peace. The few Indians at this place are well cared for by a catechist, Mr. Johnson. At Leech Lake Agency, the home of the Pillager band of the Chippeways, there is a flourishing mission and a large congregation, the Rev. Charles Wright ably ministering to the spiritual wants of the Indians. At Pine Point the work is going forward under the guidance of the Rev. George Smith. At Leech Lake, White Earth, Red Lake, and Birch Cooley, Miss Sybil Carter has lace teachers at work among the Indian women, and who can measure the good that is being accomplished by this noble woman and her efficient helpers in the uplifting of these women, who are eager to learn to do this work and so provide for themselves the necessities of life which hitherto have almost entirely been denied them? The improvement in the cleanliness of their homes is one of the most noticeable features of their advancement.

In North Dakota the work under the care of the Right Rev. Dr. Walker has advanced at Fort Totten, attended in part by the inmates of the Government school, and at a point 10 miles south of the agency. The missionaries labor among the Chippeways, Sioux, Mandans, Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Crees. The mission among the Sioux, on the Devils Lake Reservation, is in charge of the Rev. W. D. Rees. Some of the attendants are men who had part in the Sioux massacre of 1862. They are partially civilized now, and a number of them are Christians.

In South Dakota the work conducted by the Right Rev. Dr. Hare among the Sissetons, Wahpetons, Santees, Yanktons, Lower Brules, Yanktonnais, Blackfeet, Sans Aros, Onkapapas, Minneconjoux, Two Kettles, Upper Brules, and Ogallalas has made good progress. The field is divided into ten separate districts, each being presided over by a clergyman in priests' orders. The several congregations, except the central one which is his especial care, are in the immediate charge of native deacons, catechists, or helpers. The congregations are made up of people not long out of barbarism, who are ill fed and ill clothed and live in hovels. The superintending priests minister to groups of congregations ranging in number from 5 to 15. The missionaries have to drive in all kinds of weather from 150 to 600 miles a month. Out of an Indian population of 25,000 who have been but recently redeemed from war and the chase, the missionaries have gathered a baptized population of 9,476, a body of communicants numbering 2,727, and an average attendance at church of 3,295.

Out of their poverty these Indian Christians gave last year for the support of the native clergy and for domestic and foreign missions and other religious purposes \$4,320. There are also four Indian boarding schools in this jurisdiction which give a home and care and instruction on an average to 50 Indian children each. These schools have won the highest praise from intelligent and disinterested visitors. On account of the rigorous climate, warm clothing, hearty food, and artificial heat are required by both the teachers and pupils for all the months of the school year but two. The average attendance has been as follows: St. Paul's, 50; St. Mary's, 48; St. John's, 50; St. Elizabeth's, 45. The ordination to the diaconate of Joseph Marshall, a Brule, and John Wahoyapi, a Minneconjou, was one of the most interesting and cheerful incidents of the year. These men had been trained and tested in practical work for periods ranging from eight to twelve years, and were not found wanting. Through the generous help of friends a comfortable residence has been built at Lower Brule Agency for the Rev. Mr. Walker; a donation from a society, supplemented by \$175 raised by the Indians themselves, has provided a neat little chapel for the people at Ascension Station, Rosebud Reserve. The people of St. Peter's, Crow Creek Reserve, have been enabled to finish their little chapel. It is hoped that with a sum already in hand the Indian congregation of the Church of the Messiah, Lower Brule, can erect a church in place of the one destroyed by a cyclone during the summer of 1895. At Fort Pierre, a lot having been secured, the building upon it was converted into a neat and comfortable chapel. During the past year there were 18 clergymen at work in the Indian field in South Dakota; the number of parishes and missions was 82; the total number of baptisms was 645, of which 186 were adults; there were 78 confirmations; 3 men were ordained; the communicants numbered 2,907; there were 1,885 Sunday-school teachers, and the contributions amounted to \$4,320.98.

In southern Florida the Right Rev. Dr. Gray is conducting missionary work among the Seminoles at Immokalee, nearly 40 miles beyond any other place of worship. The missionary in charge, the Rev. Henry Gibbs, was ordained in Christ Church (built for the Indians), at the first service held in the church, July 5, 1896.

In southern Virginia, under the Right Rev. Dr. Randolph, our work at the Hampton Institute is cared for by the Rev. C. B. Bryan.

In Wyoming, the jurisdiction of the Right Rev. Dr. Talbot, we have one missionary among the Indians.

Mrs. Quinton reported that the missions of the Women's National Indian Association, during 1896, were chiefly under the care of its State auxiliaries. The mission of the

Maine association was among the Absentee Shawnees; that of Massachusetts, among the Hualapai of Arizona, where a school opened by the association is doing excellent work, and 60 cottages, with the help of Government, are being built; the Rhode Island station is among the Spokanes of Washington, where a school, under Miss Clark, the missionary, is doing finely, and much progress is being made among the people in civilization. The Connecticut station at Fort Hall, Idaho, is still under the excellent management of Miss Frost, who has also a little boarding school in her charge, while Mr. Peck, the farmer and industrial teacher, is doing good service; the New York City society supports the mission at Augua Caliente in southern California, where medical, industrial, and missionary work are being faithfully done, and where progress in civilization is clearly manifest. A new station in the California Desert has been opened at Martinez during the year; a new cottage and chapel have been built; the salary of the missionary is provided by our Brooklyn and Bay Ridge branches, and the work is opening very promisingly. Our New Jersey auxiliary is still at work among the Moquis of Arizona, where the second missionary cottage will soon be built, and a new missionary stationed. The work has still been aided at Coahuilla and at Greenville, Cal., and a new mission at Hoopa has been opened during the year. Government gave us the old schoolhouse, which is moved upon our lot, and will be rebuilt as our cottage. Industrial and missionary work has been continued among the Seminoles of Florida by Dr. and Mrs. Brecht, and nearly 6,000 acres of land have been purchased for these Indians by Government through Dr. Brecht. At all these missions there has been cheering progress, and the stations are all still in hand.

LETTER FROM BISHOP WHIPPLE.

MY BELOVED FRIENDS: I do not feel that it is safe for me to come to Washington, as the weather indicates colder temperature. It is a loss to me, for I love you all and feel a deep debt of grateful love for all your blessed work for the brown children of Our Father. I have no suggestions to make; go on as you have, the Indian will be saved. I have thought much of the new plan to abolish the office of Indian Commissioner, and have Indian affairs in the hands of a board. Personally I would greatly prefer to have these affairs in the hands of a man like Mr. Browning, our present able Commissioner, and his able coadjutor, the superintendent of education. I have never found success in divided responsibility. I wish the present honest and able officer could be retained, and his efficient office helpers.

I fear if the change proposed is made it will abolish our Board, which has been so efficient in preventing wrong, and who are the only body which brings the Indians in touch with the people.

H. B. WHIPPLE.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C., January 19, 1897.

DEAR SIR: In acknowledging receipt through you of the invitation of the Board of Indian Commissioners to attend the meeting to be held on the 20th instant, I beg to express my regrets that I am unable to be present on account of other engagements.

While not specially interested in the affairs of the Indians beyond the official duty imposed upon me by law to defend suits against the tribes and the United States, under what is known as the Indian depredation act of March 3, 1891, I beg to emphasize what I have heretofore stated to your Board—that judgments for the depredations of Indians ought to be assumed and paid directly by the United States without making such judgments a charge on the annuities of the tribes. The present generation of Indians, as a rule, did not commit the depredations, and inasmuch as the tribes are the wards of the United States, and the Government properly undertook to protect the settler, the interests of all would seem to justify direct payments from the Treasury on the judgments as they are now being rapidly taken.

Respectfully,

CHAS. B. HOWRY,
Assistant Attorney-General.

Gen. E. WHITTLESEY, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

On motion of Mr. Garrett, the letter from Judge Howry was referred to the business committee to see if any action upon it was necessary by the conference.

Dr. Charles E. Eastman was asked to speak.

Dr. EASTMAN. My work is rather new. There are many disadvantages connected with it, but I feel that it is important, as most people feel about work which they have undertaken. It is among the young men of the Indian tribes. It is slow work, because we have to break down tribal prejudice, sometimes sectional prejudice, and

sometimes religious prejudice. But its work appeals to the young men when it is understood, and we have demands from the young men of different parts of the country to come and organize among them Young Men's Christian Associations. But we have found in most cases that there was scarcely foundation for such an organization yet, and we have refused them. The rule of the Y. M. C. A. is that we must have some assurance that the association will go on with its work. Wherever we find numbers sufficient to make that sure we can establish one. We have been compelled in certain cases to organize what I call associate associations. We have a sort of a training association by which we can lead the young men collectively to accept the schemes and principles of the Y. M. C. A., and we hope in the future that we may organize them into active associations, and then they can stand on their own strength and carry on their own work in their sections of the country or on reservations.

We have found that in most of the reservations there are enough young men to take up this work and carry it on successfully but for these tribal and religious prejudices which we have to break through. As a rule most of those who are Christians are strongly burdened by the work of the church or the missionaries. It is right that the missionaries should utilize their strong men in the way of carrying on their missionary work. They do not feel like leaving their particular church work and entering into any other religious work. The Indians, as a rule, when they establish themselves in anything think that they can not break with that and go to any other thing. This is seen in all the different denominations. If I go to a Catholic and talk with him, he says to me, "I would be glad to go into it because it is something for Indian young men, but I do not know whether our church rules allow us to do it." Sometimes I find among the Episcopalian young men the same thing. Then these two organizations have similar organizations for young men. Among the Episcopalians the St. Andrews Society is doing good work and they feel that if they should take hold of the Y. M. C. A. work it would sacrifice their own. I have written to Bishop Hare and he does not think it wise or necessary because they have this St. Andrews organization. But I contend that our work is better because it broadens the young Indian's mind and breaks through these traditional prejudices and brings them in closer brotherhood and leads them to think for themselves.

I began by organizing associations where they read together. In one case they took up McClure's Magazine, because there was a life of Lincoln in it which they wanted, and they carried that through the year and enjoyed it and translated it. They have asked me to pick out another character for them to study in connection with their association.

Our young Indian men have no wholesome recreation. There is no social life worth mentioning, and we must bring this about in some such way as the Y. M. C. A. affords. I find a great many of them are apt and keen to see their condition, but they are unable to do anything for themselves. Their spirit has been broken. They have no sense of responsibility. They say, "We can not act; we can not think." At every effort they make, some of our superiors say, "Oh, you are nothing but an Indian." All these things weigh on the young men's minds. Sometimes I think you have been very unfair to us in scrutinizing the Indian. You scrutinize them too closely. You could not yourselves stand such an examination. Our Indians are doing well under the circumstances. You must remember that this civilization is coming upon them like a flood. When there is a great flood in the country all the edge is dirty water, and we Indians are in this dirty water and are paddling our canoe through muddy places. We have not come into clear water yet and we can not grasp things as you do. But our Indians are making progress in every direction to-day. I do not know a race that has made such progress as our people. I can not find any record in history either. You have been progressing for a thousand years, and even yet there are a great many who could not stand a close examination.

Question. You are sent out by the National Y. M. C. A.?

Dr. EASTMAN. Yes; we have about fifty associations and I am trying to push the work in the schools wherever I can reach the young men from all the tribes. On the reservation we have to go very slow, but it is not wise to organize too rapidly. We have to lay our foundations carefully and pick our young men carefully to start with; otherwise the association will degenerate into a dancing association. But yet we have found that there are young men who can guide these associations—good Christian young men. There are bad returned students, but there are a great many good ones—noble fellows, yet struggling against disadvantages that not many of your college graduates would struggle successfully against.

Lieut. Frank Cushing was invited to speak.

Major Powell read a letter with reference to the need of irrigation on a large scale in the West for the benefit of the settlers in those regions and for the Indians on the arid reservations.

THE NEED OF STUDYING THE INDIAN IN ORDER TO TEACH HIM.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD OF UNITED STATES INDIAN COMMISSIONERS: When I received the invitation to address you, with which your secretary, General Whittlesey, honored me, I misapprehended the time assigned for this meeting—gained the impression that the date he named was February 20 instead of January 20. Therefore I am not able to come before you as I had hoped to come, with a well-prepared paper on the most important subject he suggested for my address. Indeed, if I did not realize how essential it is that those who would teach the Indian should, from first to last, study his nature and characteristics in order best to deal with him as a pupil, and if I did not also feel that we who study the Indian primarily from the anthropological standpoint should ever be ready to speak in emphasis of this necessity whenever opportunity offers, I would not venture to address you without more adequate preparation, so grave do I consider this duty.

Your secretary was wise—although leaving me great liberty of choice—to intimate that the leading text of my remarks should preferably be this necessity for understanding the Indian on the part of those who would teach him. His suggestion appealed to me so forcibly that I unhesitatingly decided to lay aside many other subjects with which I could far more easily interest and even entertain you, for the sake of this one, for the sake of saying some few of the thousand things that might be said upon it alone.

That the teacher of the Indian should understand him, even as the teacher of the child should understand his nature no less than his needs, scarce requires to be stated. Yet the whole difficulty the teacher has had heretofore in dealing with the Indian, or at least the greatest difficulty has arisen, it seems to me, from insufficient understanding of him. This lack on the part of teachers has been due less to preoccupation with the needs of their pupils than to the very great difficulty in turn of understanding them, or of how to understand them, a difficulty so great that a Bureau of the Government, of which I have the honor to be a member, was some years ago established with this especially in view; for the Bureau of American Ethnology is not devoted to the study of anthropology as a science merely, to the study of the American Indian in order that we may ascertain his place in history and in the scale of the mental development of our species only, but that we may understand his very nature, his mood of mind, his usages, his attitude, all in order that we may be the better able to treat with him as a subject or ward, and to aid him to overcome in his sadly unequal struggle with an advancing and alien civilization so that he may be fitted to survive among us and be not further degraded or utterly destroyed.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Indian, because he belongs to an earlier status of mind and condition of human life than our own, is incompetent at learning. Of all the savages of whom I have read—certainly of all the savages I have seen—though they be many, the American Indian is intellectually the most alert and superior. He is apt enough at learning, but, although able to learn, he is disinclined to learn as we would have him, and the first work we ought therefore to do in attempting to teach him should be to lead him to see and appreciate—to really wish for the education we are so ready to give him. If he desires it he will acquire it readily enough, and will apply it without further prompting, to the problem of his changed or changing conditions.

How, then, shall we overcome the difficulty in the way of our understanding the Indian? First, we must go to him as brothers, be in thought and act his equals only, neither assume for the time being nor manifest any superiority whatever. We must not let it appear for a moment that we would instruct, but that we would simply be helpful friends to him, that we come from liking, and would be one with him. This I found to be absolutely essential, whether you would study the Indian scientifically or, more expressly, from humanitarian motives. Teachers who go among the Indians do not generally go in that spirit. They go too much imbued with their mission as teachers; for this idea of teaching too often gives rise to a feeling of superiority, and when that is so their work is at an end practically before it has a beginning. I mean to say it is at an end before it has a beginning relatively; that is, so far as best results are concerned.

It seems to me of primary importance that in endeavoring to teach or help the Indian we should at first lose sight of the teaching part and strive to overcome his averseness to being taught. You have heard some most significant and suggestive words on this point in connection with religious teaching from Dr. Eastman, who preceded me. The great idea is, as he said, to lead the Indian to wish for this teaching, whether it be religious or, as I would especially urge in the beginning, practical.

To this end I believe, and, after much thought on the subject, I would offer with all due modesty a rather sweeping suggestion or two founded on this, my belief, that if in place of the second or third rate men who too often receive appointment

as Indian teachers we could select and send forth among the Indians only men of high ability and talent; men of true and strong feeling for humanity, and possessed of large understanding of human nature; men who would go to these people sympathetically, much as parents do to their little children, and full of the tact born of such sympathy, it would be well. Only men of this kind can learn to fully comprehend the inmost nature of the Indian; can by study of his past learn how he came to be what he is, and thus learn how to make him other than what he is, how to win him to wish for education in the practical affairs of life, and then to wish for education along the higher planes of life. We should send such teachers as these among Indians, as themselves students at first, and then as recruiting officers, to enlist the old men and women, the elders and matrons and councilors of the tribes on our side, by engrafting upon their notions our notions, and thus teaching them to at least tolerate, if not to voluntarily advocate, our education and our modes of life. The way would thus be made easy for having their children come among us—to be taught here with us, as the surest means, not only our learning, but our living as well. And the way of return for these young people would also thus be made easier. They would not have to go back to meet, to struggle with, and perhaps be baffled and vanquished by so many of the difficulties you have heard told of this morning, and, I may add, such as might be told of all day without exhausting known instances.

Instead of this, however, a great many of those who are sent out to teach the Indians begin by affronting them; by unintelligently and, to them, unintelligibly opposing the tribal beliefs and usages; and thus the first of their acts are the worst that they could perform. I have repeatedly heard such people, when speaking of their efforts toward civilizing the Indians, refer in a rather gratified way to the fact that when they began their work with such and such a tribe there were so and so many "blanket Indians," but that after a year or two or three there were only so and so many "blanket Indians." And yet if we should go to this same tribe and observe without prejudice the Indians thus spoken of we would find that whether they wore the blanket or not made very little difference with them; that what they had been before they shunted the blanket they were still without it, so far at least as concerned real advancement. In this aspect of the case the blanket is not the man. In another aspect, however, it is much more the man than the coat is the man with us. Herein lies an illustration of my point:

If you were one of these people of the blanket, and believed in the story that some of them tell of the first blanket or robe, as when children you believed in the first stories of religion your mothers told you, what effect do you suppose asking you to give it up would have? What would you do, for example, if asked by an Indian to give up wearing the dress coat on ceremonial occasions, even if he gave the reason he probably would give, that it made you resemble a swallow or a crow? Suppose that you, like him, had been told when given your first blanket:

"When the world was all new there was a man who went forth to hunt that he might help his people, but he had naught wherewith to clothe himself, save only a bunch of grass tied around his loins. There arose a storm, and it was cold, very cold, and he was sore distressed and like to die. Lo! then of a sudden came forth from the 'East Land' what seemed to be a mighty deer, but it was really one of the 'Masters of Life' in form and person of a deer only. And as he approached he lifted his foot and moved it to and fro, as if in sign of peace. His antlers were wide spreading, his back was covered with long, thick hair, like a mantle of fur, giving him warmth, so that far better clothed was he than the Indian standing before him. And he said to the man who stood there, startled and trembling, 'Look now, oh son, give heed to what I say, for I live not here only and in this form which thou dost see, but, lo! I live in all the six regions round about the world. I breathe in the wind breaths of all the directions, and what though thou kill me, yet will I not be slain. Smite me, therefore, with thine arrow here,' and he motioned to the spot over his heart behind his shoulder, 'and when I fall cut so, and so, and so,' said he, motioning out all the directions that ever since that day Indians have followed in the taking off of the skin from the deer. 'When thou hast done all these things thou shalt take the skin thou hast thus lifted from off my form and stretch it over the ground until it is become larger and straightened. Then thou shalt soften it by rubbing it between the hands and drawing it over the knees or feet, and when this is done thou shalt cut off the long pieces that now cover my hinder legs and with them make a girdle, whilst with the part that covers my back cover thou thy back, folding the strips that are upon my fore legs over thy shoulders and girding the broader part that hangs below around thy waist. Thus shalt thou have a mantle wherewith to cover thee, even as now it covers me, from the cold and rain, and thy arms will be free for use and thy legs for running, free even as mine.'

"The Indian folded his arms across his breast, and bowed his head, and breathed deeply from his hands, that he might remember and do these things; but he liked not to smite the deer, as he had been bidden, and though he lifted his bow, he dropped it again and yet again, until commanded anew. Then quickly he drew an arrow to

the head and aimed and loosed it, and it sank deep into the side of the deer and he fell to the ground. Behold! the mists of his dying breath assumed ere they vanished the form of an ancient man, who said:

"Take from thy pouch, oh son, medicine, meal of the seeds of earth, the which thou and thy kind eat even as I and my kind eat the plants that grow from them, that we may live. Moisten this with the blood of my fallen body and touch with it the nostrils, the ears, and the eyes thereof, while yet they be warm, and with it place the clot of blood that thou shalt find in the heart thereof. Thus shalt thou make a seed of being in my kind. And the rest of this form of mine, flesh, bones, and horns, thou shalt freely use for thy needs and the needs of thy people and children; and thou shalt tell them everything I have told and shown to thee, without omission; above all, that they forget not ever, neither they nor thou, when slaying my kind, my children, the deer, to make thus for each a seed of being, to be laid in the ground and covered over, as are the seeds of grasses laid in the ground and covered over for renewal of life from the flesh or soil of our earth mother. Thus through all the ages of the world as it waxeth old there will be great numbers of my kind, for, remembering these things, neither thou nor thy many children will kill us wantonly. Only that ye may have mantles to wear and meat to eat will ye kill us. And thus will our lives be spared, and continued, even when taken, unto others and yet others of thy children, who will follow in greater numbers and still greater, yet even so, will not want for food when hungry, or for garments when falls the rain and it is cold, very cold," said he, as his deer form stiffened in the grass and his mist form disappeared in the wind.

"Then the Indian did all that he had been bidden. Nay, and he did not forget the instructions, and lo! even unto this day, the deer endure, what though generations of men have slain them, for the hunters of our people have never forgotten to kill them only as needed, and even so to plant ever the seed of their renewal in the ground where they fell. Nay, and they have loved ever the mantle warm with the life of the first father of the deer kind, who gave it to their father, when the world was all new."

Now, my telling of this tradition is not altogether untimely. If you believed, as these simple people of the blanket do, that not only they themselves, and the animals and the trees and other plants they see around them, all live with a life like their own, but also that the things they make and wear are living things too—that they must care for them lovingly if they would have good from their use—you will see how much more the blanket, which by direct succession is believed to have replaced the ancient robe, is to the people who wear it, as compared to what the coat is to us. And I think that with this suggestion the legend of the first mantle serves well to illustrate the feeling that the Indian has, not merely for his blanket, but for the many other things that we, at the outset, so unreflectingly ask him to forego. Is it necessary for us thus in the very beginning to ask him to let go these things that he loves so well and cleaves to so devoutly? I do not think it is; certainly not until he comes to understand from a long course of education first in other lines that he has not to cleave to things as parts of himself, according to the traditions of his fathers, but only in so far as they are convenient to him.

Without entering into the subject of my address more generally, I think that my meaning will be the better conveyed to you if I give you simply additional illustrations, gained from my somewhat long-continued experience with the Indians themselves, for I suppose you all know that I am "The Zuni Man" and of course my experience is, in a certain sense, one-sided. I have a feeling of love and admiration for the Zunis, it is true, but in this I do not offer by any means a solitary example. Nearly everyone who has lived long and intimately with the Indians, no matter of what tribe, has learned to love them, and to have this feeling of particular admiration for the tribe he has best known, even as I have for the Zunis. But, while I learned to love and admire the Zunis, as Zunis, I learned also that they were, if I may so express it, more Indian than they were Zuni; and if you will but bear this in mind, I think that you will believe, as I do, that they illustrate more or less fully the Indians of other tribes, save that in a few ways they had advanced further in culture and their peculiar civilization than those other Indians had at the time of our first contact with them.

I have already said that the Indian is very apt at learning even unfamiliar things, if only he be convinced that these things are good to know, and one of the first additional illustrations I have to give you bears this out forcibly. I had an old brother (by adoption of course) among the Zunis. He was a remarkable man. He was a man who, by native ability, would have stood perhaps among our foremost men had he been born of our race and to our opportunities. When he was between 30 and 40 years of age he saw the first American wagon he had ever seen, passing slowly through the sandy plain below his terraced town of Zuni. It was drawn by horses "stuck or buttoned to it," as he expressed it, with thongs of leather. It was this which impressed him; he and his people having, as they still have to-day, great numbers of horses, but neither he nor they had ever seen harnesses of this kind

before—things for buttoning horses to wagons. They also had a great lumbering kind of ox cart—a modification of the early Spanish bull cart—but its wheels were made from sections of large cottonwood logs and its framework from timbers big enough to serve well as substantial rafters and strong enough to support the cargo of a car. When you awoke of early morning in grain or harvesting time at Zuni you could hear these carts painfully and vociferously creaking along miles away as they went forth to the distant fields in the plain below. "How much better," quoth my brother, "would such a four-roller-walking burden bearer as this I have seen be, drawn by horses buttoned to it, than the burros with pack saddles, or the two-roller-walking burden frames of the Mexican kind that we have." Forthwith he decided to go, although it was far away, to the only American settlement that was then known in that country.

Our earliest frontier post was 60 miles away from Zuni at that time, but he made the journey, and, from a short distance, saying nothing, watched the soldiers half a day or more harnessing, unharnessing, and using their horses. Then he returned home and from rawhide cut strips and made—invented as much as imitated—harnesses of his own, after the fashion of those he had seen. For buckles or buttons, as he called them, he used skewers of tough wood; for bridles, used those of the Mexican style in vogue among his people, but with the jaw-breaking levers filed off, and to these he attached lines of buckskin. He also made a double kind of cart, the wheels and timbers of which were alike much lighter than those I have described. How he managed the reach and forward axle I can not conceive; but, at all events, when he had finished, he went forth and captured a couple of his broncos, or half-wild mustangs, and at imminent risk of breaking his neck, he harnessed or buttoned them together and to the four-wheeled contrivance he had fashioned. His success may be measured by the fact that for years and years thereafter he was known—at least whenever, owing to his peculiarities, he was quizzically referred to—as "He Who Goes On The Four Roller Walking Burden Frame." It is true that he was a man of exceptional ability, yet he was an Indian of Indians, and I think this story of his achievement in the application of mere observation, without any instruction whatever, furnishes a striking illustration of the soundness of my claim relative to the first requisite of Indian teaching.

Further, I think that this bit of history illustrates one of the ways in which we should and easily could make the beginning in our teaching of the Indian, in practical things at any rate. I remember that I tried to make such a beginning in a small way, and it may not be amiss for me to relate briefly to you how I did this, and some of its results.

When I first went to Zuni there were only a few doors opening through the outer adobe walls of the lowermost story of their great terraced town, although in the walls of the upper stories numbers of curious little doorways might be seen. This had resulted from the necessity the Zunis had been under in olden times of protecting their village from attack, and thus the custom of entering the first-story rooms by means of ladders had become fixed, so much so that there was a strong prejudice against making doorways opening directly from the ground into these rooms. It was therefore necessary to carry all the wood and corn and other burdens in blankets or on racks attached to the back up the ladders to the roofs of the lower rooms, and thence through sky holes down other ladders again into them. The inconvenience of this was impressed upon me whenever I would enter the little room they assigned for my use, for I had to ascend and descend a ladder each time. I thought, therefore, I would try an innovation, make an improvement, not merely for my own convenience, but as an example, as a sort of beginning in teaching the desirability of outer doors. I got some pine lumber wherewith to make a door, and some turpentine and boiled oil and bright vermilion wherewith to paint it, for I wished the door to be attractive, that prejudice might be disarmed and the example followed. I had difficulty in gaining consent, for my room was the outermost one to the west, but ultimately carried the point. According to the ideas of the Indians the door was beautiful when it had been set in the dull-colored adobe wall. It was imitated, and imitated to my sorrow, I may say, for I was so constantly called on to assist. There are few houses in the lower stories of Zuni now that are not furnished with fine doors—many of them bought ready-made at Albuquerque, 200 miles away—and indeed they are the most expensive and are considered the most ornamental features of the Zuni house of to-day. So, I think this, like the previous example, furnishes us a cue as to how we might best make a beginning in teaching the Indian, not only such things but also higher things.

In relation, for instance, to the religious and ethical teachings which so many would fain give the Indian, it is strange that so few Americans yet realize that of all the people on this continent, including even ourselves, the most profoundly religious, if by religion is meant fidelity to teachings and observances that are regarded as sacred, are the American Indians, especially wherever still unchanged from their

early condition, and this deeply religious feeling of theirs might, if properly appreciated, be made use of, not weakened or destroyed by premature opposition. For with them sociologic organization and government, the philosophy and daily usages of life, are still undifferentiated from their religion, still founded upon religious belief, and still so closely united with it that all their customs, which we consider so absurd and useless, grow from it as naturally and directly as plants grow from the soil. The minutest of these customs may be traced to their religious conceptions, verily as plants may be traced to their roots in the soil. It is, then, most dangerous to tell the Indians of the baselessness of their beliefs, the uselessness of the customs and ceremonies founded upon them. Why strike at the very root of the life whereby they are enabled to maintain their communities, by striking at these things before the appointed time?

Upon this theme I might talk to you, it seems to me, for hours, and would do so gladly, if I properly could, or if time allowed. I could give you illustration after illustration which would make it plain, it seems to me, to anyone, that we should understand the Indian belief and philosophy and mood thoroughly before we presume to interfere either with his customs or his seemingly idle ceremonials. We should have a profound knowledge of the origin and meaning of his beliefs, as well as an understanding of the convictions that, with him, are founded upon them, and then, through this searching knowledge, we should, even as Buddha taught the barbarians of his time, teach these latter-day barbarians, as we style them. The example offered by Buddha's mode of teaching—when he came to the unenlightened householder and found him bowing to the four quarters of the world, to the upper world, and to the under world, and realized that this was in veneration of a traditional custom founded upon the worship of the great quarters of the world and the winds thereof as sacred breaths coming from the gods of those mysterious worlds, and proceeded to explain how each set of his new precepts was associated with one after another of these sacred regions, and the obeisances thereto—might well be applied by us.

I deem it worth while to give you an account of how once I applied such a method, not knowing at the time that it had been likewise applied so many centuries before me. The Zuni priests, like the prophets and teachers of nearly all primitive peoples in their status of culture, believe, as did the barbarians of Buddha's time, that the world is divided into several worlds or countries, and that the winds which come from these worlds literally do represent the great breaths of controlling gods or beings that abide separately in each. Their tribe is divided into clans accordingly. That is, there are, or there originally were, nineteen of these clans, and they were in turn grouped together in sets of two and three, according to these supposed divisions of the world. The chief leaders of these groups of clans constituted the priesthood and were the so-called "medicine men" of these people. They were really priests and were members of esoteric societies representative of the several regions or sacred world precincts I have referred to. The master priests or supreme leaders of these esoteric priesthoods number in turn thirteen, there being two representatives of each one of the six regions around this world, namely, of the northern, western, southern, eastern, upper, and lower worlds, and one representative of the midmost, or seventh region, the greatest region of them all, that is, this region here where we abide.

Now, when I came to thoroughly understand this curious, and as may be seen, fundamental, classification of the tribal divisions of the Zunis, and how it was based upon their religious conceptions and beliefs, when I considered also how slight had been the impression made upon these people by Christian teachers throughout the long years of their devoted endeavor, I wondered if the futility of their efforts had not been due to the assumption that these people must be rigorously cleansed of their native beliefs ere others could be given them—an assumption based on ignorance of the fact that the very foundation concept of these native beliefs and organizations and usages corresponded almost literally with the earliest Christian concept, or at least organization. I would hear those who had been taught hymns or Sunday-school songs at the mission, singing these at one time, using the sacred names that occurred in them at another time blasphemously, as they had heard them used by passing teamsters and cowboys, all evidently without the slightest notion of the meaning of these names to us, so I decided to sit down one night and tell them, in terms they could understand, somewhat of our religion and of the names they so indifferently pronounced.

"Brothers, listen," said I; "when the world was young, long ago, the ancients of the Americans believed much as you believe. But there came a time when all of their beliefs were changed by a new master of teachings, much as yours were changed when came Po' shai yan k' ya, the master teacher of the medicine societies. This teacher of ours came and established among our ancients twelve priests—two for the North, as it were, two for the West, two for the South, two for the East, two for

the Above, and two for the Below. I remember having read when I was young, in our paper folds, with marks of meaning, that in his last talk with these priests of his he said: 'Ye shall go forth two by two unto all the regions of the world and teach these instructions and sayings of mine to all the people therein.'

"Well," asked my listeners eagerly, "Who was that Father of thy people?"

And I said to them, "Lo! that Teacher was our Po' shai yan k' ya, whom ye never name in idleness. He was the 'Tchisus' (Jesus), whom ye name in singing and in idle talk alike."

From that time forward I never heard those Indians who had listened to me utter that name again. No, if anyone uttered it in their hearing even, they would instantly say: "Hush! 'tis Po' shai yan k' ya that ye speak of; the Po' shai yan k' ya of the Me li ka na kwe, and yet the same." It was edifying to observe the applications of my statements that they made. They felt convinced that our religion was only another form of their own religion after all.

Now, had I told them that they were utterly wrong about their beliefs in the Seven Regions, and that these beliefs must be relinquished ere they could be right, they would not even have listened to me, save only as constrained by their own religious politeness.

It is, then, as Dr. Eastman has told you, a fearful thing, this sudden transition in the lives of the Indian. There has been no people on the face of the earth, indeed, with whom sudden transitions of any kind have been safely made. Such sudden transitions are always tragical and destructive. There is a body of tradition with every people that is not only believed in, but is loved—by the Indians not less, but even more, than by others; loved in a way that passes our comprehension, for we are weaned from love of our traditions. We do not want to go to them, then, and weaken their sense of morality founded on the traditions they believe and so venerate by saying these are wrong, for we never in a lifetime, with the utmost effort and labor, can blot out of their minds what their fathers and mothers have taught them when young of reverence for these traditions and replace it with equally influential reverence for our own. That reverence for their own tradition and beliefs is restraining. With the Indian religion and ethics, both traditional, are one. In proportion as they are not divided, as with us, you take away from him this religion you will take away from him moral responsibility, and although he may adopt our theological teachings and forms they will not strike root under his skin if taught in any way that destroys the strength of his primitive creed, or, at least, his faith. I do not want to be iconoclastic, but I speak from profound conviction. We must proceed slowly in changing the beliefs, or the usages traditionally founded thereon, with Indians. That the beliefs they already have, however wrong from our standpoint, are influential for good in the conduct of life with them may be illustrated by yet another experience of mine.

One night, when I had been living somewhat more than a year among the Zuniis, they brought a young man, gagged and cruelly bound with tough rawhide thongs, into my little room and threw him down, by no means gently, but with a sounding thud, on the hard earthen floor.

"Why do you treat him so?" said I. "Loosen the strings and give the poor man ease."

"Nay," said they, "his name is Thla pi a ko a (or Dry Bean pod) he rattles so when he runs, and that in itself is enough to show that his breath being (soul) is a little loose even by nature, for he is half Navajo, and Navajoes are wild people anyway."

"But why?" said I, "do you keep him bound so tightly?"

"Look, now," replied they, "he must be kept closely confined, mouth and limb alike, for he has gone and utterly loosened his soul with burning water (whisky) that the Navajoes have brought him. He is crazed. No man who is crazed with burning water can call his soul his own, much less give heed when it tells him, as do the souls of right minded-men, what is wrong and what is right and safe to do and say. Now, therefore, we will not loosen his bonds nor let his senseless breath be free."

The man whom they had thus treated, and thus spoken of, was one of three or four only, among the Zuniis, who ever at that time, drank whisky. Even they drank it but rarely. Others would not drink it at all because of this singular belief that if a man became drunken, and thereby crazed, he voluntarily loosened his soul, made it liable to wander away as in dreams or delirium, beyond control, liable indeed to be lost altogether; and that therefore his very life was endangered if he were left free of breath and limb, for often men in that condition, thus left free, came to grievous hurt. This belief, it is, my friends, that has kept the Zuniis a temperate people, while Indians of other tribes have yielded to drink and been well nigh destroyed thereby. May it not be that they have thus yielded in many cases and thus been destroyed, through our own premature teachings as to the absurdity of their beliefs?

I will give you another instance of our misunderstanding for the women to lower the head, and let the hair fall over their faces, especially if they meet a strange man or if such strange man enter their doors.

Now, the young girl I spoke of impressed her teachers, who naturally misinterpreted her behavior in this respect, as exceedingly foolish, and they strove to correct her behavior by admonishing her continually to lift her head and show her face; to look and act like a sensible maiden. And they did not fail to admonish her also, that when she returned to her people, "Whatever you do, Mary," said they, "look up; do not lower your eyes and your hair in such a shamefaced fashion. What have you to be ashamed of? Teach the young girls of your tribe to behave in this manner too."

She was duly impressed with these instructions, for she had been won over by her gentle teachers. The other children, alas, died, and what do you suppose would have happened to that girl when she returned alone to her people, had I not been there to explain her behavior. You can well understand what would have become of her, where such behavior would be interpreted as brazen or actually wanton.

This again affords an instance of the result of interfering through lack of understanding with the usages of Indians, and with their notions and of these peoples, of the sort so fertile of error in our treatment of them.

There was a young girl in Zuni, who, during the third year of my stay there, was taken away with another girl and two boys, partly through my influence, to be taught in an Eastern school. Now let me explain that the heads of the households in Zuni are always women, since the Zunis still maintain the old matriarchal or mother right system of clan organization. The women, therefore, decide whether they shall be proposed to or shall accept in marriage or not. It is a right that every young girl may exercise, and therefore the first intimation of willingness to accept proposal in marriage must be made by the girl or woman. Now these little women have a custom of wearing the hair parted on one side and banged even with the chin, so that it hangs like a veil over the face. If a girl or woman lifts the hair from her eyes and looks at or smiles upon a particular man it is one of the customary intimations I have referred to. Not understanding this, the behavior of these women in thus hanging their heads and looking askance at one from under their hair strikes one as extremely silly, yet, according to tribal customs, founded upon the significance to themselves of this usage, it is actually obligatory for decency's sake. For many things like this that appear to us so insignificant are really of profound significance to them.

Another constant source of error in regard to the Indian lies in our impression that his dances are vicious, or, at any rate, idle performances. Far from the truth is this. An Indian always worships by means of the dance, or, at least, when he dances he is always worshiping. With him the dance is a holy drama—a sort of passion play—for all his sacred legends are conventionally dramatized in his dances. He seeks, even in the war dances, not so much to infuriate, as we suppose, but only to reinvigorate with the courage of ancient heroes the would-be warriors and defenders of his people who gather to celebrate with him. He seeks in many of his other dances to recreate, to renew, so far as he may by devout imitation, dramatization, what was created when the world was new, by doing over, solemnly imitating what he supposes the gods themselves did in those days. He seeks thereby to renew in the passing year and its seasons the good of the golden age of long ago. And if these seemingly trivial ceremonials of his were generally understood, as I came to understand those of the Zunis, through familiarity with the legends upon which they were founded, they would command admiration always for their poetic beauty and often for their nobility of meaning, and would not be so lightly condemned or opposed by those who go forth to teach or to improve the Indian. Let us, then, by all manner of means, urge the necessity of studying the Indian that we may understand his attitude of mind and sympathize with his seemingly irrational behavior ere we would presume either to admonish him too freely or instruct him in the better or more rational ways of life that we lead and would have him follow.

I have not yet finished by half what is in my mind to say on this subject, but I have already overstepped by a little, I see, the time that has kindly been allowed me by your chairman, and I pause only to thank him for this, and to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the patient attention you have bestowed upon this all too ill prepared presentation.

PIMA AND MARICOPA INDIANS.

The following extract from a letter dated January 4, 1897, from the agent, J. Roe Young, gives a clear account of the present situation:

"I have upon this immediate reservation something like 5,000 Indians whose name throughout the whole country is a synonym of truth and fealty to the white race.

For such a grand tribe as this to be subjected to poverty and starvation while other Indians who have murdered and pilfered all their lives are pampered and fed on the fat of the land is a disgrace to our civilized Government.

"Years ago when this tribe had all the water that flowed in the Gila River they were the largest producers of wheat and other cereals in this Territory and they often raised from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 pounds of wheat alone, and supplied all the settlers for hundreds of miles around, but since these waters have been diverted they have been in great need of food and their clothing is of the most scanty description.

"About 2,000 of these Indians who live in favored spots manage to raise from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 pounds of wheat. They feed not only themselves and the remaining 3,000, but also about 1,800 nomadic Papagoes.

"This water above referred to grows less every year, and at the rate it has diminished in the last three years another three years will find them without even stock water. The Government has permitted me to buy from \$1,000 to \$2,000 worth of wheat a year, but when it is distributed it melts away as would a snowball in Yuma on a July day.

"Immediate action should be taken to furnish these Indians with water or Congress must appropriate at least \$30,000 a year to buy food for this tribe.

"There are 345,000 acres of land on this reservation, and if it was supplied with water I could put every Indian—Pima, Maricopa, and Papago—upon these lands and throw open to settlement both the Gila Bend and Salt River reservations.

"Another discouraging feature is this: I have 1,000 children in the different schools throughout the country, and every year as they finish school they are sent back to this parched desert educated and in a condition to do for themselves, but with nothing to do. Their condition is worse than before they were enlightened. They have forgotten their Indian ways. Education, with poverty and starvation, means dependency, and has led to suicides and other desperate deeds to end their troubles. This is a condition and not a theory."

Major POWELL. In my judgment this irrigation should be provided if the Indian race are to be kept living. Schools are nothing, churches are nothing, the Christian religion is nothing, while thousands of men are starving.

Mr. JAMES. It is absolutely true that starvation is among all these tribes, unless the Government comes to their relief by irrigation.

Dr. Sheldon Jackson brought two little Eskimo girls from Bering Straits before the meeting. One of them recited a little rhyme in English.

Adjourned at 1.30 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session was called to order at 2 o'clock, in the parlors of the Ebbitt House.

A paper on the irrigation of arid lands was read by Mr. F. H. Newell.

IRRIGATION ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

The lands owned by the Indian tribes or devoted to their support aggregate, according to the report of the honorable the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 132,143 square miles, or in round numbers 84,571,000 acres—an area greater than the New England States, New York, and New Jersey. Of this vast extent of land about 49,000,000 acres, or nearly 58 per cent, lies well within the arid and semiarid portions of the United States where agriculture is possible only by means of irrigation and where stock raising is dependent to a large extent upon water artificially secured by wells or storage. Upon these dry lands whose area is considerably greater than that of New England or of any one of the States east of the Mississippi River, there are in round numbers 93,000 Indians, or nearly 38 per cent of the total number in the United States. These Indians are reported to have under cultivation about 76,000 acres, or a little over one-sixth of 1 per cent of the total extent of the lands devoted to their use. But this area reported as cultivated includes a considerable extent of land upon which the agriculture is of the crudest kind and possibly some areas devoted merely to raising forage crops.

The reservations thus included within the total above given as arid or semiarid are those of Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and parts of Idaho, Montana, North and South Dakota. No part of the Indian Territory has been included, as most of this land is humid, the western prolongation alone being subhumid. The greater portion of these reservations is suitable only for grazing, there being a little timber on the higher plateaux or among the mountain peaks included within their boundaries. There is, however, on every reservation a considerable body of fertile land which, if brought under irrigation and proper cultivation, would support many times the number of Indians in existence. It is well recognized, however, that there is usually not a sufficient amount of water to irrigate all of the fertile lands, and that the problems of securing an ample supply even for restricted areas are by no means

simple of solution. In some localities streams may be diverted, in others storage works constructed, while in more limited areas water can be had from wells.

From a bare statement of these elementary facts, it would appear a simple matter for the Government, from time to time, to utilize moneys devoted to the benefit of the Indians in building proper irrigation works and settling the Indians on small farms upon these, allotting, if necessary, the remaining large areas of grazing lands to the use of those to whom this manner of life is better adapted. But in the execution of such plans many complications arise. If, for instance, it is determined that lands in a certain valley should be irrigated, the question at once arises as to the perennial supply of the stream. The mere fact that there is enough water at the time of examination is no guaranty that such has been the case in the past or will continue to be in the future. Moreover, through lack of foresight the water may have been appropriated by white settlers living above or below, and although the Indians may have used the water from time immemorial, yet, for lack of protection these rights may have been lost. Again, if storage works are to be built, other questions arise as to the time and quantity of floods and the amount of sediment brought down by them.

These questions can be satisfactorily answered only through observations carried on for a number of years, and unless preliminary facts of this kind are obtained, suitable structures can not be built with any considerable degree of assurance of success. In the case of putting down wells, the practicability of so doing may depend upon geologic conditions which can be ascertained, not from immediate inspection, but from a thorough study of all the surrounding conditions—one which necessitates time and careful consideration. In other words, the introduction of irrigation upon Indian reservations in general requires, as in all other enterprises of this character, a large amount of forethought and preparation—in short, a thorough businesslike study of topographic and geologic conditions.

The Indian Office has already entered upon irrigation works, having constructed in Montana an excellent system for the Crow Indians, and in northern Arizona and adjacent parts of New Mexico a number of smaller ditches and reservoirs for the Navajoes. For the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in Idaho plans have been considered and projects submitted, upon the Yakima Reservation ditches have been dug, and upon the Yankton, Rosebud, and other agencies in South Dakota a few deep wells have been drilled. Further enterprises are demanded, and it has been long recognized that the oversight of the construction and maintenance of the systems of water supply should be placed in the hands of some responsible individual as superintendent of irrigation. It should be self-evident that such an officer is needed, for by constant supervision only can these works be maintained in good order.

For the introduction of systems of water supply and the development of methods of irrigation in the most economical and efficient manner there is still necessary something more than a superintendent of irrigation. The attention of such a man must always be given largely to executive work, to construction and maintenance of systems of water supply, and the qualifications for this position are such that it can not be expected that the superintendent of irrigation can give a broad study to the matter or accumulate facts such as are essential in future developments, especially in remote areas. In private enterprise considerations of profit and loss insure that careful consideration shall be given to each and every project; that it shall be viewed from all sides and that alternative propositions shall be carefully studied. In works built by the Government there should be the same mature and careful consideration, not procrastination and then sudden yielding to pressure. The development and utilization of the water resources of the reservations should not be left to chance nor to spasmodic effort, but, as in the case of corporate enterprise, systematic examinations should be carried on year after year toward definite ends. There is no class of work in which greater knowledge of conditions, forethought, and continuity of purpose is demanded than in the case of the introduction and development of systems of irrigation, and it is necessary that when a superintendent of irrigation is appointed he shall have the hearty support of other officials and meet with full appreciation of the value of his recommendations or labors.

The practicability of systematic work of this character has been demonstrated by the operations of the Geological Survey. This organization has for many years pursued definite lines and brought together results which are being utilized in the development, not only of the public lands, but of the great resources of the country both East and West. In the matter of irrigation the Division of Hydrography has for eight years pursued a well-defined course, and with orderly methods has brought together available facts in portions of each State and Territory concerning the flow of the streams, the character of underground waters, and other matters of value to the growing population. To a small extent its skilled men have been detailed to the examination of particular problems connected with the Indian reservations, but the short time available within which such questions must be answered has not been conducive to obtaining the most satisfactory results. It is impossible to give offhand information or advice regarding such matters as irrigation, especially in localities

where the water supply is constantly fluctuating or dependent upon many unknown conditions.

It should be practicable to bring about a closer affiliation between the work of the Indian Bureau in irrigation and that of the Geological Survey, such that systematic examinations can be carried on and recommendations made as to the initiation of work. With the existence of cordial understanding between those two Bureaus it is possible to determine upon plans for the conservation of the water supply of the Indians at the minimum of cost on the part of the Government and place in the hands of men skilled in this work the responsibility of suggesting and outlining methods of procedure whose execution can be determined upon by the officials charged with the proper expenditure of the Indian funds. That some step is urgently needed is exemplified by the conditions upon the Gila River Indian Reservation, where for years the water supply has been constantly diminishing owing to appropriations by the whites for their lands situated higher up the river. The matter has been recognized by the Department for ten years and referred backward and forward, but there has been apparently no one possessing specific authority to look into the difficult and complicated question. As a last resort it was suggested that the Geological Survey take up the matter. After careful surveys a report has been submitted giving the probable cost and feasibility of alternate projects of pumping, storing, etc. The matter is now in concrete form for the indorsement of the Department and for the action of Congress following some such indorsement. It is highly essential that it be not allowed to rest in this stage, but that definite steps be taken at once. The following extract from a letter dated January 4, 1897, from the agent, J. Roe Young, gives a clear account of the present condition:

"I have upon this immediate reservation something like 5,000 Indians, whose name throughout the whole country is a synonym of truth and fealty to the white race. For such a grand tribe as this to be subjected to poverty and starvation, while other Indians who have murdered and pilfered all their lives are pampered and fed on the fat of the land, is a disgrace to our civilized Government.

"Years ago, when this tribe had all the water that flowed in the Gila River, they were the largest producers of wheat and other cereals in this Territory, and they often raised from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 pounds of wheat alone, and supplied all the settlers for hundreds of miles around. But since these waters have been diverted they have been in great need of food, and their clothing is of the most scanty description.

"About 2,000 of these Indians, who live in favored spots, manage to raise from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 pounds of wheat. They feed not only themselves and the remaining 3,000, but also about 800 nomadic Papagoes.

"The water above referred to grows less every year, and at the ratio it has diminished in the last three years another three years will find them without even stock water. The Government has permitted me to buy \$1,000 to \$2,000 worth of wheat a year, but when it is distributed it melts away as would a snowball in Yuma on a July day.

"Immediate action should be taken to furnish these Indians with water, or Congress must appropriate at least \$30,000 a year to buy food for this tribe. There are 345,000 acres of land on this reservation, and if it was supplied with water I could put every Indian—Pima, Maricopa, and Papago—upon these lands and throw open to settlement both the Gila Bend and Salt River reservations.

"Another discouraging feature is this: I have 1,000 children in the different schools throughout the country, and every year as they finish their school they are sent back to this parched desert educated and in a condition to do for themselves, but with nothing to do. Their condition is worse than before they were enlightened. They have forgotten their Indian ways. Education with poverty and starvation means despondency and has led to suicides and other desperate deeds to end their troubles. This is a condition and not a theory."

It should be practicable by proper foresight to prevent the occurrence of this and other similar instances of destitution. The Indian agents have as a rule done all in their power by calling attention to such matters year after year, and the Bureau has repeated their warnings, but, though having the best of intentions, has often been powerless to act for lack of definite suggestions as to what to do, or of authoritative and unbiased advice. Such lack can only be supplied by providing a body of consulting irrigation engineers, such as is maintained by successful corporations or by bringing about a closer relationship with the experts now in the employment of the Government.

Question. What can we do toward furthering this object?

Mr. NEWELL. I think it would be well for this conference to urge on the Indian Bureau that some steps be taken with reference to the water supply from the Gila River. I should like to see the work of the different Government bureaus more closely coordinated.

The report of General Whittlesey was then read. (See page 3).

Dr. W. N. Hailmann was invited to speak of the Indian conferences.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTES.

[By Superintendent Hallmann.]

The institutes, which have now been held for three successive years, have proved the wisdom of the honorable Secretary of the Interior in establishing these means of help for our Indian workers in the various schools. The purposes of the institutes are not, as a rule, generally understood. It is supposed that they are chiefly for fitting the schoolroom teachers for their schoolroom work. But this is a mere incident in the purpose of the institutes.

In their present organization the institutes are divided into two great departments. The first is the general department, in which all the workers that visit the institutes take part. The superintendents, the disciplinarians, school teachers, carpenters, tailors, matrons, seamstresses, laundresses—all the employees belong to this great general department, which constitutes the most important feature of the institute. In the afternoon the members meet in various sections. The industrial workers, under the direction of the mechanics and farmers, form one section; the industrial workers who work under the matrons, which include seamstresses, laundresses, and cooks, form another section; the schoolroom teachers meet in the third section, and the superintendents, assistant superintendents, and disciplinarians meet in the fourth. Each of these discusses points and details more directly related to the work intrusted to its care. In the general section the more immediate work of giving direction and spirit to the work of the Indian employees is carried on. The purpose of this general meeting is, in the main, to give to all the workers a broader outlook and a more definite aim and to remove both narrowness and vagueness in work.

One of the things which appears to me unfortunate in the work of the Indian schools—one of their shortcomings—is the frequent occurrence of vague work, without definite aim or end. Teachers will not study their children, but will look upon their children simply as children—not children of such and such a peculiarity, but just children who are growing up under them and for whom they are to do something. They feel that they must give to the children what is laid down in the books placed at their disposal from day to day. This constitutes a vague sort of education, and to remove this on the one hand and to give teachers definite aims in everything which they do these institutes were organized. To give to the carpenters and blacksmiths a definite aim in every portion of their work, as well as to give to the workers in the domestic industries such an aim, is one of the chief purposes of the institutes. At the same time, it is to remove the narrowness of seeing but the limited field of each school, to give them a broader outlook, and to let each one feel and appreciate clearly and distinctly that what he does has an influence upon wider spheres of life, not only with the Indians, but in the nation as a whole.

This, I think, has been accomplished to a large extent, chiefly by bringing together at the institutes, not only Government workers, but workers from all the various fields interested in Indian civilization. The missionary workers have been invited, and have responded with great alacrity. The teachers of contract schools have been invited and asked to contribute their views and opinions, and have responded. Members of the various Indian associations throughout the country who have a deep philanthropic interest in the Indian have been invited, and have responded. Public men interested in the education of the people of the respective States in which these institutes have been held, superintendents of instruction, and others connected with the educational work of the State have been invited, and responded. Those who have come to the institutes have learned that they are an integral part of the vast army of philanthropic men and women who mean to do a generous, noble, patriotic thing, and that great responsibility rests upon them. All this has come about from the help of these persons who have come to assist in the work of the institutes.

There is another phase of the institutes. We have noticed frequently that workers in Indian schools knew little about the Indian as an Indian, and cared possibly less. In fact, the very organization of the Indian schools, to some extent, excluded the subject of the Indian as an Indian. We have made it one of the chief points, therefore, to bring before the institute and workers every year many instructive addresses from persons who were familiar with the Indian as an Indian, and who had learned to respect him as such. These persons have brought the Indian before the workers in a new light. Instead of seeing in him a savage, and treating him as such, with all the contumely which that term implies, and which it is apt to stimulate in our minds, they have learned to see in him a human being, gifted with all the essentials of humanity, and a human being almost ideally reverent, almost ideally brave and courageous, almost ideally devoted to that which he sees to be his duty. Reverence, courage, and devotion to duty are peculiarities of the Indian character, which, with the help of these friends, have been brought to the notice of the institute workers. As a consequence, many of them have learned to respect the Indian child that comes to them, and thus there has been secured by them the great fundamental condition of successful and efficient educational work, viz, that the educators shall respect those with whom they have to do.

One instance of this is in the treatment of the Indian vernacular, which is now gaining ground in the schools. Some years ago it was considered a sort of crime in a school to use the Indian vocabulary. For a child to use an Indian word was a serious fault, which called for punishment. It happened that teachers when they were asked, "Do you ever speak Indian with the children?" said, "No; I do not know a word of Indian." If you asked "How long have you been in this school?" the answer may have been five, six, eight, or ten years. The inspector told me that I must not learn a word of Indian. The Indian vernacular has been treated with contempt. It was made a misdemeanor for little children to use it who knew no other speech and who could not express their ideas in any other way. They were compelled to use English altogether—a language they did not possess and which did not contain the terms that to them expressed their ideas and feelings.

They were, therefore, perfectly isolated. Naturally a hatred toward the English language grew up in their hearts. They returned the contempt with the same kind of contempt and dislike for the English which the teachers brought against their own idiom. The attitude is now different. The children are led to see that it is desirable to learn English, that the Indian has not anything lowering or degrading about it, that it is not to be avoided, that it may be very well for them to speak Indian when they are with those who do not understand any other speech, but that when they speak in the presence of those who do not understand Indian, but do understand English, it is imperative to use that language. The advantages of English are brought before them in better ways, and they are learning to respect and love the speech which adds new power to them and which gives them a new means for self-assertion and for becoming factors in the life around them.

This I consider a matter of the utmost importance. The workers in our Indian schools should learn not only to respect the Indian children, but to judge the Indians in accordance with the Indian standard, so far as his virtue and wisdom are concerned. Gradually the Indian standard should be raised. Men who are courageous, industrious, and reverent, can easily be led into another civilization and a higher civilization by modifying their standard and the details of their ideals in wise and prudent ways.

Through these institutes a systematic study of the Indians in certain directions has been established, and that is beginning to bring most gratifying results. The teachers are beginning to learn to study the environments of the children and to teach them by means of these environments, so that they have become helpers in their development instead of hindrances.

Another purpose of the institutes is to secure a vital organization of the work among the schools as a whole. I would emphasize the word vital. Each portion of the school is an organic factor of the work of the schools as a whole. The day schools have a certain aim, the reservation schools have a certain aim, and the nonreservation schools have a certain aim, and these must be thoroughly, vitally, and organically connected with each other. This requires coordination among all the workers, and one of the chief ends of the institutes is to secure this conscientious coordination. The day school must cease to be the rival of the boarding school, and the nonreservation school must cease to claim the monopoly of all the education to be given to the children. They must work with each other and for each other. This is what we are accomplishing gradually. There are still factors on the reservation that must be dealt with. There are agents who contend that it is absolutely wrong to send an Indian child away from the reservation.

There are those who are so peculiarly constituted that they imagine it is possible to lead children into the higher forms of civilization without bringing them into contact with it. Then, there are still among the nonreservation schools those who have the idea that it is utterly wrong to leave children even for a moment upon the reservations during the process of education. They think that the best thing is to take the children away from the mothers and homes and keep them away and teach them contempt for the reservation and their former associations of mother and home. They would educate them in nonreservation schools and never send them back to the reservation, but keep them always away from their people, teaching them to neglect their people and to live an isolated, selfish sort of existence, from which all memories of mother and home are excluded. You can see that an education like that must be unproductive of real good for the children; but with the help of the institutes these symptoms of narrowness are gradually disappearing.

A similar vital organization should exist among the various departments of the individual schools. I have noticed in many instances that there was no vital connection among the different departments of the same school—the scholastic, in which the children were taught the three Rs; the agricultural, in which they are taught farming; the domestic, in which they are taught various parts of domestic economy, and the rest. The teachers who carried on the industries did so without reference to the schoolroom; the teachers who conducted the schoolroom did so without reference to the industries. It was an aggregation of departments, instead of being a connected

whole in the life of which each had its organic value. This is gradually disappearing. The various representatives of the different departments are organizing their work in such a way that the school department knows what is going on in the industrial departments, and the industrial departments know what is going on in the schoolroom. This leads the child to greater respect for his environment. It leads him to feel that he is ever standing on the same firm ground. He does not feel when he is in the schoolroom that he is in a higher, or better, or even essentially different region from that which surrounds him on the farm or in the kitchen. But he feels that the whole school is for him, and that he is performing duties of equal value, whether he is in the schoolroom or on the farm, in the stable or in the kitchen. To do the smallest duties of life well is the burden of all that is being done in the school.

Again, our teachers are beginning to respect the mothers and the homes of their children, and this I look on as the proudest gain of the summer institutes. These homes and these mothers, according to our standards, are not always very lovely things, but to the children they are the loveliest things that are, just as to each one of us mother and home is the loveliest thing. The teachers are beginning to become acquainted with the mothers, to gain their confidence, and thereby influence the mother and the home in favor of school education. This is of the utmost value to the schools, for it brings the home into sympathy with the school. We shall not be able to make good citizens of the Indians unless we learn to enlist in this work the Indian mother. This is an indispensable condition of real success; for mother and home are the corner ideas on which American civilization rests. We may make the Indian, in a measure, self-sustaining, we may give him some literary knowledge, but we shall not make him an honest, devoted, public-spirited citizen, capable of self-sacrifice, until we enlist the mother in this work, until the children learn to see that what they do as citizens benefits the home, that it increases the virtue of the home and makes it more joyous and more welcome to the mother.

I wish to express my appreciation of the help that I have received in these institutes from the Indian workers who meet here and at Mohonk. In many instances they have brought to us inspiration and information and have taught us to look for light where it can be found. I thank them in the name of the Indian school workers most heartily, and I trust that you will preserve for the Indian schools the interest which you have brought to them these last three years, during which I have had the opportunity of appreciating its high value. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

Mr. Charles Lyman, ex-Civil Service Commissioner, was asked to speak.

Mr. LYMAN. It should go without saying that I am very much interested in this application of the civil-service reform principle to the Indian service. I was a Civil Service Commissioner at the time the first step was taken in this direction, and had the good fortune to prepare for this first step after repeated conference with Commissioner Morgan. It is a matter for congratulation not alone for those identified with the Indian service and for those actively engaged in furthering the cause of civil-service reform, but it is a matter for congratulation to the whole people of the United States that this matter has gone as far as it has. The ground has been pretty thoroughly covered in what has been said. I rejoice, as no doubt everyone rejoices, that the civil-service reform which began less than two decades ago, has reached the consummation which we witness to-day. It confronted difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, but it has been the most successful movement of a reform character of the age, or that has ever taken place in this country. The results are as great as the reform itself and will be found to be increasing as time goes on. I am glad to give you my assurance of my interest in the work in which you are engaged, of lifting up the Indian by all the agencies possible, that he may become a useful and honorable citizen of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Mr. Leupp desire to formulate his last proposition? Would he like to have it go into the platform?

Hon. John R. Procter was invited to speak.

Mr. PROCTER. In this Indian service I have deferred to the people in whose judgment I have great confidence. The Commission has been in consultation with Dr. Hailmann, and the Secretary of the Interior, and Mr. Herbert Welsh, and other gentlemen who have given the Indian question great study. If I were a part of this body and asked to vote on Mr. Leupp's resolution I should not know how to vote. I should consult with the gentlemen I have named and who have been among the Indians and seen how this matter of excepting Indians from competitive examinations has been working, and should form my opinion from what they told me about the service, because it is for the benefit of the Indian wholly. It is desirable to get the Indians into the service as assistants and teachers, and ultimately as superintendents.

Whether it might be possible to make a competitive examination among Indians

alone, and one of whites, I am not prepared to say. I would much prefer hearing from Dr. Hailmann before I give any opinion. I think that the Indians probably have not had the same opportunity for education as the whites with whom they would compete, and they would be placed at a disadvantage. I realize that the civil-service rule has been of great benefit to the Indian service, but not so much as it will be in the future. You must not judge the work of the Commission by the character of the people we are getting into the service, although I believe it will be demonstrated that we are getting into the service better people than of old. But it must be judged by the character of the people we are keeping out of the service. If you would look at the examination papers of the people who fail to pass, the people who have the best indorsements, you would see that the Commission is rendering a great work by the character of the people kept out of the public service.

I am ready to try to answer any question that may be propounded.

Mr. GARRETT. There is one subject that has not been referred to, and that is the exclusion of Indian agents from civil service regulations. It is important that they of all others should be selected by other methods than the present. I should like to hear from Mr. Procter what the Commission would think of the possibility of bringing Indian agents under similar methods of appointment. That is one of the most serious objections to the Teller bill, that it does not give the appointment of Indian agents to the Commission. Is there any way by which they can be selected and be free from partisan influence?

Mr. PROCTER. I believe that the higher you go in the offices brought under civil-service rules the better. I believe it is better for the service below that these higher places should be held out as rewards for promotion. I have always contended that the service can not reach the degree of perfection we hope for until the higher positions are removed from spoils and brought under the rules so that persons can be promoted into these positions who have entered the lower grades.

Question. Do you think it is possible to do that?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; very easy to do it.

Question. The Indian agent is an Executive appointee confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. PROCTER. It would require a special act of Congress or an amendment to the civil-service law to secure any.

Dr. HAILMANN. I could have brought you some statistical points that would have been of value here. This is one of the cases in which system comes in with its destructive tendencies. You are aware that I am a firm advocate of civil-service reform, and I should be perfectly willing to apply the civil-service law to Indians in the shape in which it is applied to whites but for practical reasons. One of the chief purposes of the Indian schools is to make the Indian self-educative—not only self-dependent for his livelihood, but self-educative. He must become his own teacher. The coming generations of Indians must be educated by Indians if there are Indians to be found who are willing to do it and who are competent to go to the Indians—a part to teach, and a part to be missionaries among their own people. To place them in competition with the white men in regard to this, is to deprive them of this opportunity to become missionaries among their own people. To tell them that they can go back to their schools and teach and be workers for their people is an inducement to them to go back and to devote themselves to something high and noble. To place them in competition with white men prevents them from doing this very thing. By taking away this provision you deprive the Indian schools of one of the most potent factors in making the Indian self-dependent and self-reliant.

We look upon the offices of the Indian Service as giving to the Indians opportunities which they need. When a young Indian man or woman has gone through the normal department of the school and has proven that he is competent to teach as assistant teacher, he is simply sent into another educational department. He is still under the superintendent and is being taught responsibility and intelligent self-devotion. It is an ideal system. It is similar to the system of our normal-schools where the students do responsible work under the supervision of the normal school superintendents. These students are exempted there from further examinations; why not the Indians in our care? The facts show that since the Indian Office has opened the door to Indians in the Indian school work as assistant matrons, as cooks, as laundresses, as seamstresses for the girls, that scores who would have been compelled to go home to their people and marry according to the Indian rites, have had an opportunity to go to the schools and to secure that independence of character, which would make them missionaries with regard to marital rites even when they do go home.

Our experience shows that young men who might have gone home, as well as young women, to feed upon the Government have been able to accept school appointments and have learned the missionary spirit of living and working for others and following a great purpose continuously. They have lost their desire for roaming. The argument that this exemption from the civil-service examination proves either that they are superior or inferior to the white race, is specious. Of course, they are not

considered superior. They are not considered inferior, though they may be. It is not that which has made them an exception. It was the desire to remove from them all the various hindrances to becoming self-educative and self dependent, that induced the Indian officers to make this request. It was because they needed this new opportunity to make themselves self-educative.

You deprive the Indians and you deprive yourself of a great engine of work if you do this. If there is any danger that persons not fitted to go into this work might go in through improper methods, let us find another way. Let us say that no one who has not gone through the Indian schools shall be exempt; that Indians who have not graduated in Government Indian schools shall not be exempt, and in that way limit the persons so that it will be impossible for an Indian from the New York tribes or the Five Civilized Tribes to come into this unless they have passed through the schools. Thus the Indian Office will have an opportunity to test them by its own officials before they are admitted. But do not deprive the Indian Office of this important means in its hands to make Indians self-educative; it is on this ground that you are to discuss it. There are some things higher than the civil-service rules, and the desire to educate the Indian into self-reliance, the desire to lift him to his full stature, is more important. The civil service must help that. The exception is made not to let in an inferior class, but it is to give the Indian Office an opportunity for further educating the Indian. It is to help him do the more effectively what, other circumstances being equal, he can do vastly better than his white brother, just because he is an Indian.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to hear from Commissioner Browning.

Commissioner BROWNING. When it was suggested that this regulation or law giving the Indians the right to fill positions in the Indian Service without competing with their white neighbors was a class preference it occurred to me that, in view of regulations which often discriminate against the Indians in behalf of the whites, this order in behalf of the Indians was entirely justified. Dr. Hailmann has presented the matter so well that it is unnecessary to say anything in justification of the action of the President in excepting Indians from competitive examination. When I came into the Service four years ago it seemed to me that the Indians, wherever capable, should have the preference in appointments, for the reason that nowhere else were they given an equal chance with white people. Therefore, when civil-service regulations were being formulated, I suggested to the Secretary and to the Commissioners that positions should be given to Indians who were competent to fill the subordinate places. This regulation does not apply to superintendents or positions of that class. I found that one of the troublesome things in managing the Indian Office was what to do with the boys and girls who had finished their schooling. If they went back home they must go to the tepee on the reservation.

Dr. Hailmann gave his assistance and showed that they could be put into positions that were not beyond their merits, and that wherever we found a person engaged in some kind of work that the Indians could do we would be justified in putting the Indian in his place. Indians have been eligible to civil-service examinations, but I do not know of one who holds a Government position who has secured it from the Civil Service Commission. In no other Service do Indians have an equal chance, and I feel that the action of the Civil Service Commission is right. Mr. Leupp's theory that there ought to be no exceptions may be right; but this is business, and we are looking after the Indians, and when these boys are educated and can make shoes and do carpenter and cabinet work, and we can find positions that they are capable of filling, they are put into these places, and I do not think they should be required to go before the Civil Service to stand the test with the white people. If they do there is a chance that very few will get in. The regulation may be defective and susceptible of improvement; but I think the friends of the Indian should adhere to it for the time being. In after years, when their experience as well as education will give Indians a better chance before the Civil Service Commission, there can be no objection to subjecting them to competitive tests. Or let them have examinations in a separate class, as has been suggested; or Dr. Hailmann might arrange a course of study, for which a certificate could be given, which could be shown to the Civil Service Commission, which ought to be satisfactory. I feel a deep interest in this, because half the minor places in the schools at the agencies are now filled by Indians.

When I came into office very few Indians held such positions. If an Indian girl can make a good assistant seamstress or laundress she ought to have the position. I think she should have preference over a white person for such a place.

While here, perhaps the last opportunity I shall have, I desire to bear testimony to the efficient help that has been given me by the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the courteous treatment given me by every individual of the Board, and by the Board as a whole, and by the members of the Indian Rights Association. I have been privileged to acknowledge heretofore the good work done by our religious societies. A great work has been accomplished everywhere, which I appreciate. I think we ought to be encouraged by the progress which has been made in the last

few years. Some people who do not know the difficulties say that the Indian question ought to be settled by this time, but men and women interested in this work who have given it their attention for years feel that progress has been made in education, in placing Indians on their lands, and in making them self-supporting. Much has been accomplished by the system of employing field matrons. That is a good work, which ought to be extended.

Mr. Herbert Welsh was asked to speak.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE IN THE INDIAN SERVICE.

[An address by Herbert Welsh.]

The Indian Rights Association has sought to present to the people of the country from the first a clear picture of the work which was being done in the Indian Service, and the work which was being done by various workers in the field. We have tried to be the friend of every faithful laborer in the Indian vineyard.

One of the very first things we were confronted with was the lack of civil-service reform in the Indian Service. We saw that all those who were in that department of the Government service, all who were trying to do good work for the Indian in the field, were threatened by the prevalent spoils system and by the lack of continuity in office. Every change of administration threatened to throw those good workers out of their places. Therefore we tried to put the greatest possible emphasis upon the reform principle—appointment only for merit, removal only for just cause. We urged upon the country that the spoils system should be abandoned and that in its place the reform idea should be adopted; that every faithful worker should be continued so long as his work was what it should be. That has been the question upon which the Indian Rights Association has tried to lay the greatest emphasis, and we have felt that no one thing in the Indian Service was of greater importance, or indeed in any branch of national or municipal service. We have emphasized that from the beginning, and we have asked the people of the United States to consider whether that was not a very vital point.

Our society has had some practical influence in bringing both the great parties of the country to recognize the justice of this demand for civil-service reform, to accept the idea that the places in the Indian Service are not to be regarded as spoils to be used by political parties to provide for their respective henchmen, but to be used really for the good of the Indian. Both of the political parties have come to recognize more and more the truth of this simple assertion that these places should be used no longer as spoils, but as a public trust, and that some judicious method must be adopted for determining the qualifications of applicants so that the appointing power might be relieved of the pressure continually brought to bear upon it by spoilsmen. The Indian Rights Association has urged that the question of determining fitness might be placed in the hands of the Federal Civil Service Commission. We have claimed that it was qualified to impose the proper test by which the fitness of applicants, intellectual, moral, and physical, should be determined.

It seems to me that this is one of the great reforms which is being recognized in the country at large, and in the Indian Service as well. I will ask my friend Mr. Leupp to give you more details.

I only wish to emphasize this principle and to appeal to our friends who are here to-day to try to bring an influence to bear upon the new Administration as it comes in which will aid it to maintain the reform in the Indian service. The Administration undoubtedly desires to maintain this principle. The incoming President is committed to it, and has proved a strong friend of it. But every Administration is at first seriously interfered with by the great clamor for office by seekers for positions, who make it very difficult for the President to carry out his own sincere purpose. Therefore, it becomes very necessary to sustain the President in the desire which he shows to maintain civil-service reform. Public sentiment must help him, and we must try to arouse that public sentiment. Because, after all, what is the Indian work as carried on by the Government? Its success must depend upon the perfect recognition of that principle. Each person who is put in a position, every agent sent out to a reservation to look after the affairs of the Indians, if his work is to be thoroughly done, must be selected upon this vital principle of reasonably demonstrated fitness to do his work. We have held that in any case where an Indian agent has shown himself a good man and qualified to do his work, he ought not to be removed; he ought to be retained in his position. If for any reason he is unfit, and must be removed from the service, his place should be filled not by one who is merely qualified from a political point of view, but by one who has those qualifications that will enable him to promote the welfare of the Indians. The incoming Administration will receive all the support which the friends of the Indian can give toward putting this plan into practice.

[An address by Francis E. Leupp.]

Mr. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: All that can be said, in addition to what Mr. Welsh has said, as to the present status of the reform of the Indian service, is to give a history of the two or three stages through which it has passed.

The first step was taken during Commissioner Morgan's administration, when President Harrison put a large number of employees, including physicians, superintendents, teachers, and matrons into the classified service. This brought 703 of the 3,511 employees under the rules.

President Cleveland, by two sweeping orders which did not specify particular places by name, but which called for the classification of all positions whose duties were of a certain sort, brought into the classified list nearly all the rest of the places in the Indian service which were subject to classification under the organic civil-service law of 1883. The first order was issued last March in response to a request from Secretary Hoke Smith, who preferred not to wait until the rest of the Cabinet had prepared their Departments for the change which was to take place, and who insisted that for the further progress of the work he had in hand the President should allow him to go on and classify a number of places in the Indian service. This order brought into the classified list, besides the superintendents, teachers, and physicians already classified, the matrons, supervisors, assistant superintendents, day-school inspectors, assistant teachers, industrial teachers, teachers of industries, disciplinarians, kindergarten teachers, assistant matrons, farmers, seamstresses, and nurses in the school service, and all clerks and storekeepers at both agencies and schools. Then came the greater order of May, the all-inclusive order, which swept in all the places except Presidential offices on the one hand and those of laborers on the other, except a few special positions where it seemed impracticable to apply the common merit test. Agents, inspecting officers, and a small handful of others are therefore about all that now remain outside. But one unfortunate exception was made to the rule of competitive examinations: Indians who apply for any positions except those of superintendent, teacher, teacher of industries, kindergartner, or physician are relieved of competition, and may be chosen by a noncompetitive test approved by the Department and not disapproved by the Civil Service Commission.

It seems to me it is a very great mistake to allow this race discrimination to be made. Under the guise of a privilege, it is really, in one sense, a proscription. If it were turned around in its form of statement, and the general rule for Indians called for noncompetitive examination, but the white race were proscribed and compelled to compete, I don't believe that it would endure for any time. A good deal depends on the point of view from which you regard such a rule.

I contend for the abolition of this exception on the ground that it is degrading to the Indian. We are doing our best to wipe out the distinction between the Indian and the white man, and such an exception must rest on one of two foundations: We must either assume such superiority of the Indian over the white man as would justify giving to Indians places in the public service without going through the ordinary merit test, or we must assume that the Indian is so far inferior to his white competitor that he could not endure a joint test. Either of these theories is wrong. The exception in favor of the Indian is founded on a wrong principle. I believe in putting all of the civil service which is included within the Indian service upon precisely the same foundation, no matter whether the persons concerned are red, or white, or of mixed blood.

Another danger of leaving the rule as it is now is, that it will simply multiply Indians. Experience has shown that the instant you begin to give one race a special privilege beyond another, everybody who can ethnically or legally bring himself within the category of that race gets there. It will be astonishing a few years hence, as the number of offices to be filled without competition grows, to see how many white persons there are who have one drop of Indian blood in their veins—which is all that is necessary to constitute a person an Indian. I would urgently recommend the conference to call the attention of the Civil Service Commissioners to this feature of the recent order of classification, and request that it be changed.

I agree wholly with the superintendent in his desire to give Indians the benefit of all educational advantages, by placing them where they can teach their own race. That is provided for in a large measure. Every speaker seems to have proceeded on the theory that the exceptions in favor of the Indians are sweeping. I took pains to specify by name the whole list of the exceptions. Any Indian who wants to be appointed superintendent, teacher, teacher of industries, kindergartner, or physician must pass a competitive examination. If it is right to require applicants for these places to submit to competition, why not sweep the board clean? The Commissioner—for whom I have the highest respect—has said that the one strong reason which impelled him to approve the exceptions in favor of Indians was that the Indian had never had a fair chance before. But two wrongs do not make a

right. We will admit the wrong treatment the Indian has suffered steadily at the hands of the white man, but I do not see that that is any reason for doing him another wrong by keeping him out in the cold as a separate entity. What we want to do is to turn the Indian into a white man as soon as possible by throwing down the barriers which stand between the two races. The Commissioner says that my theory is right, but that the practice I propose would be wrong. No theory is right of which the practice is wrong. If the theory is right the practice is right; if the practice is wrong the theory is wrong. I have looked at this matter in the interest of the Indian. I take a robust view of our duty toward Indian civilization; I believe that the Indian should be made to stand on his own feet as soon as possible. It has been said here this afternoon that no examination can test the Indian's fitness fairly in competition with the white man. Then there must be something wrong with the examination. Change that so as to make it do the work expected of it. But I beg you not to allow a false principle to be grafted upon our scheme of Indian civilization merely because a few little details would have to be changed in order to make the true principle successful.

Finally, let me address myself briefly to Dr. Hailmann's argument. He regarded mine as specious. I want to show that it is his argument which is specious, not mine. He says that the existing race differentiation is not made on the ground of the Indian's inferiority, and yet it is he who says that the Indian would have "no chance in competition with a white man."

Dr. HAILMANN. I waived the question of inferiority. I did not enter upon that. I said the reason was that he should have an opportunity to be taught self-reliance and a desire to help himself in practical life. He was to have this not on account of inferiority.

Mr. LEUPP. That is my very point. Why should we give the Indian a special opportunity simply because he is an Indian, unless he is for that reason inferior? Why do we coddle him in order to teach him self-reliance? Do we cultivate self-reliance in the Indian by assuming that he would not have any fair show in competition with the white man? No. We should give him self-reliance by letting him come into competition with the white man. I do not believe the competition would be so serious in the lower grades. My judgment of the Indian is much higher than that. We don't make exceptions in favor of our Irish or our German born citizens; and what I have seen of our Indian schools and of the returned students on the reservations has convinced me that we have never added to our population a class of people brighter intellectually, with more progressive, wide-awake minds, than our Indian boys who are sent out from Haskell and Hampton and similar institutions. I think before we vote upon anything of that sort it will be well to hear from other persons. Dr. Hailmann is opposed to my view.

Mr. RICE. My inclinations are to the views of Mr. Leupp. I understand that the Indian appointees, although selected without competitive examinations, are selected on a merit test of a certain character under the supervision of the superintendent of schools, so that it is hardly fair to consider that they are selected without merit. It is the race principle which causes the exception. It is that phase of the subject that I was interested to hear discussed.

Mr. WELSH. My inclinations are in favor of Mr. Leupp's proposition. My experience would lead me to distrust the advantage of an excepted class. I believe that is vicious in principle. All that I have seen of the working of a system where there is any exception leads me to fear that it is wrong. I should fear that we should get in a weakly class of teachers, and that they would injure the work by making the schools weaker. But I also recognize that Dr. Hailmann is better acquainted with things as they are. I should like to hear his argument on the other side.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE DAWES COMMISSION.

[By Hon. H. L. Dawes.]

Mr. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am casually here. I came to get a little inspiration from these old workers; but the allusion of the Secretary of the Interior to the Commission with which I am connected has tempted you to call me to account of what we have been doing.

You will remember that at the Mohonk conference I spoke of the light breaking in upon the work which had occupied us, with very little encouragement, for three years. When I went back to the Indian Territory I found that change much more radical and general than I had any idea of. I found that all of the tribes except the Seminoles had appointed commissioners to treat with us, some with full authority to confer with us. They had come from a variety of motives, some of them selfish. Those who had held the power and resources of that country had become alarmed at the action of Congress, and had thought it impossible for them to take no notice of our Commission, as they had before. Some had come from motives of a

devious and political character; but no matter from what motives, the Commission felt it its duty to avail itself of all these conditions and grasp the opportunity which they presented.

The Choctaws, the most important of all these tribes, appointed a commission with full authority, and they proved to be an earnest and able commission. They recognized our Commission, and we met them, at their request, at Fort Smith, Ark., and spent four weeks with that commission diligently endeavoring to come to an agreement of changes in their property, tribal holdings, and government. The result was the signing on the part of that commission and of the United States Commission of an agreement which, if it should be adopted by the other tribes and ratified by the Congress of the United States, would work an entire change, not only in the tribal holdings of that Territory, but in their entire governmental policy.

The two fundamental changes upon which all the others rest, and to which all the rest are incident—desirable enough, but which will come in due time—the three fundamental principles are such that if they are adopted by the Five Tribes the work will be substantially done.

1. The allotment of their entire land in severalty in equal value and to every citizen Indian, share and share alike in value.

2. A radical change in their legislative government, requiring all their legislation touching their tribal property and their rights as citizens to take effect only on the approval of the President, and also giving the United States courts exclusive jurisdiction of all homicides, cases of burglaries, robberies, briberies, and other of the more grievous offenses. All their legislation touching these subjects is thus to receive, before becoming the law, the approval of the President of the United States, so that their governmental administration comes under the direct supervision of that of the United States, and in harmony with that of other citizens of the United States in these important particulars.

Thus, in short, their administration of justice will hereafter, except for minor offenses, be in the United States courts. Their legislation as to all general matters is to receive the approval of the President of the United States. Those two things work an entire revolution.

The commission on the part of the Choctaws signed this agreement with the Commission on the part of the United States, and it is now before the Executive. It is imperfect in this respect: The Chickasaws have a common interest in the land with the Choctaws, and therefore, so far as that part of the agreement is concerned which affects the allotment system, it can not go into effect until it is accepted by the Chickasaws. They have appointed a commission, two of whom came to Fort Smith and asked the privilege of sitting in the conference. They ascertained that they had no power to bind the nation, and therefore, after sitting a couple of weeks with us and being satisfied of the nature of our conference, they wrote us a letter expressing their gratification and desire to cooperate, and said they would go back to the Chickasaws and obtain authority to adopt this agreement. That has not yet been accomplished, and that imperfection in this agreement prevents its full adoption and the allotment of the lands. If it were ratified in its present shape, it would bind the Choctaw Nation as to all the other reforms.

This agreement has aroused the indignation and opposition of all those elements that the Commission has encountered for the last three years. It demonstrates to them that their hold upon the power and the resources of the nation is about to be loosed, and they have combined their opposition to defeat it. In the meantime all these essential elements of change of which I speak have been embodied in a bill applicable to all the Five Tribes, and now pending in the Senate. If that should become a law, these three great changes would be effected and the work would be substantially done.

If this Congress goes by, the question may not be taken up for years, perhaps, and if so it may be under a different Administration. Those who are trying to carry out these reforms are like those who are carrying a great load up a hill, and when halfway up the question comes whether they shall let go or whether the load shall be pushed forward. If the work up to this time shall fail of ratification, or if there shall be no efficient legislation by this Congress, it appears to this Commission that their hold will loosen and the whole thing will go to the bottom of the hill again. Therefore, as Secretary Francis most forcibly said, "There is no question pertaining to that great interest down there so pressing as that some legislation shall be accomplished before the close of this session of Congress that shall not fail to hold all that has been gained and contribute as much as possible to carrying the load to the top of the hill." That is the purpose for which the Commission was called here at this time, and I invoke all the efforts of the friends of the Indian to reach that end.

It is not a perfect agreement. There are some things that I wish were not in it. Some things have not been embodied that I desired very much to incorporate, but these great fundamental principles which lie at the bottom of all that will come hereafter seem to me to be of so much importance that it was my duty to forego the

incorporation of other things and to admit the presence of those I disliked, looking to the future to correct our mistakes and our shortcomings.

There is another element to which I want to call your attention. There is a commission of men appointed by the Choctaw Nation in the midst of this excitement that reigns down there, who have taken their lives in their hands, and, comprehending the importance of this question to their people and what is necessary in the future, have sat down with us to deliberately frame this agreement. If they are deserted now by the Congress of the United States, which has stimulated them to this point, which has sent a Commission down there for three years to peaceably induce them to do this—if the United States now turns its back on these men and is indifferent, it will not be safe for them to go back to that Territory. They feel that.

The night they signed that agreement the chief of the Choctaw Nation, and the leading man in it, turned to the United States Commission, after the names were put down, and said: "We look to you for support when we go home. I do not know but it will be necessary for you to send down the military force to put down the excitement which is rising there against this act of ours, but we believe it to be a patriotic act. We believe it is for the best interest of our people, and were glad to put our names to this and take the responsibility of it, but we look to the United States to support us in this work."

That is a critical position of affairs, and if this Congress adjourns indifferent to it or neglecting to ratify what has been done the inference is irresistible that there will be a longer continuance of the condition of things described by Secretary Francis, which we have vainly tried to describe and which is growing worse and worse every day. A district attorney told me that since last May in his district in one of the courts there have been a large number—I think, over sixty—of homicides, and the perpetrators of not one of them has yet been convicted by a jury. This state of things is growing worse all the time. I am almost discouraged sometimes. I have so often told our friends of the conditions we have found, and yet nothing has been done. I hope, therefore, that before the adjournment of this Congress the measure now pending, or something better, will be enacted, which will enforce what has been done and hold it so that it shall not go back, and show these men whose grasp is beginning to be loosed, that nothing shall be gained by delay or indifference.

Mr. WELSH. The Indian Rights Association will take the greatest pleasure in doing anything in its power to bring the measure to the notice of all who can urge it. We heartily approve of the position of the Commission.

Mrs. QUINTON. The Women's Indian Association will do all that it can in the same direction.

Dr. Sheldon Jackson was asked to speak.

Dr. JACKSON. We have congratulated ourselves in the past that Alaska had such a climate that the white man never would want it and the natives never would be driven out of their homes. But three or four years ago gold was discovered in the center of Alaska, and in 1895 the United States Congress sent a Commission of experts to look after the gold-bearing belt. That season they had but time to inspect the Pacific Coast part. In the summer of 1896 another Commission was sent by Congress from the United States Geological Survey. This latter Commission passed into the interior, and have reported to Congress that they have found the largest mineral belt in the world, except, perhaps, that in South Africa.

Under the stimulus of the first report from five to seven thousand miners pushed into Alaska. Under the impetus of this new report I presume next year we shall have ten or fifteen thousand white men pushing into the country.

Last spring, under the arctic circle, you would have been surprised to have found a city where town lots were sold at from \$3,000 to \$5,000 in cash—gold dust. This new place, Circle City, has a population of 300 or 400 during the winter and from 2,000 to 3,000 in summer. Last winter they raised \$1,100 and built a schoolhouse and employed a teacher. There were about thirty children in the school.

This mineral belt was traced last summer by the United States Commission for a distance from southeast to northwest along the Yukon Valley for 300 miles, with an average width of 100 miles. The probabilities are that it extends many hundreds of miles farther. This brings us face to face with a new problem. We have got to meet the problem for the sake of the native population, and we have now to face it for the white people in the interests of the mining section. The further introduction of reindeer has become an imperative necessity.

While we received no additions to the reindeer herd by purchase this summer from Siberia, we had a gratifying increase by birth. Four hundred and sixteen were born to the herds, of which 357 lived, so that we have something over 1,100 reindeer in five herds, one belonging to the American Missionary Association, one to the Protestant Episcopal Mission, one to the Swedish Evangelical Mission, and one to the native herders in charge of the Government herd, and the central herd to the General Government.

There are from 15,000 to 20,000 natives in that part of Alaska—a large, vigorous people. The question is whether the miners shall come in and introduce whisky and vices of all kinds and push the people to the wall and destroy them, or whether they shall be made self-supporting by herding reindeer and owning property. That is a question for the people of the United States to decide. The introduction of the reindeer which was intended first as a new supply of food and a method of civilization for the natives, we have found is as important to the miner as the Eskimo, to the development of Alaska as to the perpetuation of the lives of its people.

Last winter all the food supply of this great mineral belt was taken from San Francisco 3,000 miles to Saint Michael and transferred to river steamers, then taken up the Yukon from 1,500 to 2,000 miles farther and landed on the bank of the stream where warehouses are established at the mouths of the tributary streams. But the great question is to get the food supply from the river to the mines. Last winter the miners paid in cash, in gold dust, \$200 for a cur dog, an Indian dog that would not be worth anything here. But they had to have something that would drag a sled. So they say, "We can not stay here unless you furnish us reindeer for freighting and transportation."

Question. Can the mining go on the whole year?

Dr. JACKSON. Yes; the thermometer went 87° below zero, a degree of cold you would say it would be impossible for anyone to face, yet the winter is the best time for mining. It is placer mining, taking the gravel and sand out of the bed of the streams. In the short summers the streams are full to overflowing, so that it is difficult to get at the sand. But in the winter the smaller streams freeze solid and they dig out the ice and then have the river bed free. Large fires are then made in the bed of the creeks, thawing out the gravel. This, then, is dug out and piled on the banks of the streams for washing the following summer.

At Point Barrow we have found for the Presbyterian Mission a medical missionary, a young man who graduates in New York this spring. He and his wife expect to make it their life work to lift up the Eskimo at Point Barrow. They will leave in June for the new field.

Three hundred miles south of Point Barrow is the Protestant Episcopal Mission at Point Hope. Dr. Drigg is the medical missionary.

At Cape Prince of Wales, 220 miles south of Point Hope, is the work of the American Missionary Association, whence these girls came when they were about two years old. They have been more or less in civilization for four years. Mr. and Mrs. Lapp came back and spent about a year in the East, but they have returned, and they met with a very warm reception. They were welcomed with a heartiness that would have been gratifying to the friends of Christian civilization. The reindeer herd progressed finely and they have more than doubled the number they had originally two or three years ago. We expect to hear great things of Mr. and Mrs. Lapp's work. Two years ago God's spirit was poured out and quite a number were converted, so that during the last two years the natives have been carrying on, under the guidance of the missionary, a spirited, live prayer meeting every week.

Sixty miles to the east of that neighborhood is a station with a Norwegian missionary. Cruelties still exist there. Mothers still kill their babies because they do not want the trouble of bringing them up. At the reindeer station, on the Sabbath that I was there, I held a religious service. There were about 30 present, but among this small number were four distinct languages and several dialects. My English was translated into the Lapp through Norwegian. It was also translated into the dialects of the Eskimo by a girl 16 years of age. When that girl was born her mother had her thrown out to perish, not wishing the trouble of bringing her up. An older sister picked her up and took care of her till this sister got tired of the charge, and a second time the baby was thrown out into the street to be torn into pieces by the dogs of the village. A neighbor picked her up and brought her up. At 12 years of age she was sold to a husband who treated her so cruelly that she ran away. The tribe took her back, and he beat her till she was nearly dead. She got away a second time, and now, at 16, I found her a large, comely girl with a comparatively ripe Christian character, her whole heart bound up in mission work for her people.

The Swedes are doing a great work. Along the Yukon River are the two principal stations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the new bishop sent up last spring has established a mission in Circle City, but there was no missionary there when I left.

At Unalaska the Methodist women have 40 Aleut girls in an orphanage. They have two very consecrated Christian women who have gone up there, one from Canada and the other from New York State. The Government school is cooperating with them.

The Baptist Woman's Mission Society works at Kadiak Harbor. They have a large school building and 30 children at their orphanage on Wood Island.

In southeast Alaska is the work of the Presbyterian Church. They have seven

churches and 700 native communicants, men and women who in the days of their ignorance and heathenism broke every commandment in the decalogue, but who are now living Christian lives and training their families in the nurture and fear of God.

We want your sympathy in this influx of miners with vice and immorality and whisky. If you have any influence in Congress, exert it in the increase of educational work and of the reindeer funds.

PRESIDENT MESERVE. With all respect for the opinion of those who have spoken, it seems to me that as we consider the normal course of study that has been established, they can be put on the merit system as similar students are put on. In North Carolina colored young men and women are obliged to go before the county examiners and take just the same examinations that the white men and women do. In the normal schools of a high grade a diploma is practically the same as a teacher's certificate. In the normal school in Boston a diploma is the same as a certificate, and the young ladies are not obliged to take an examination for the city schools. That matter as presented by Dr. Hailmann will work itself out. I would not take the position that they should be exempted for any great length of time.

There is a practical feature of this that I observed two years ago. There was a school where an Indian young woman was put in as matron. The school had hardly a baker's dozen at that time, but the confidence of the Indian mothers in having such a matron was soon seen when the number rose to 200. I think the matter can be settled in such a way that they will be under the merit system.

DR. RYDER. I have followed in the track of the teachers' institutes, and I desire to bear testimony to the fact that they have had a great influence on the work of the American Missionary Association. Dr. Hailmann was kind in speaking of the contribution which our teachers and others have made, but I want to say that Dr. Hailmann has contributed vastly more than he has gained through these institutes. The vital organization has not only been accomplished in these Government schools, but is felt in our missionary work. The possibility of what may be accomplished has been marked in all our institutions.

Mr. Garrett asked that a portion of Judge Howry's letter on Indian depredation claims might be incorporated in the platform.

The platform was then read by President Meserve. After some discussion it was referred back to the business committee, who were instructed to prepare it for publication after consultation with the Board of Indian Commissioners.

The following platform was adopted:

All departments of the Indian Service should be free from partisan politics. We commend the action of President Cleveland in extending the merit system, and urge such legislation by Congress as will completely emancipate the Indian Service from the spoils system.

The work of educating and Christianizing the Indians has been so greatly hindered by the sale and use of intoxicating liquors, that we urge upon the United States Senate the speedy passage of the Meiklejohn bill (H. R. 280), which forbids such sales to Indian allottees, as well as to other Indians.

We believe that all Indian depredation claims allowed by the Court of Claims should be paid by the Government, and not by the Indians. The present generation of Indians, as a rule, did not commit the depredations, and inasmuch as the tribes are the wards of the United States, and the Government properly undertook to protect the settler, the interests of all would seem to justify direct payments from the Treasury on the judgments as they are now being rapidly taken.

The work of Dr. W. N. Hailmann, superintendent of United States Indian schools, has been characterized by scholarly and progressive methods, bringing the schools up to a high degree of efficiency. We commend Dr. Hailmann to the President-elect, and ask that he be retained in the position he so ably fills.

We urge upon all the churches the importance of continuing and extending their religious work among the several Indian tribes.

We think it is the duty of the United States in all cases where the lands assigned to Indians can not be tilled without water speedily to provide irrigation, that the Indians may become self-supporting.

Since the Indian can not become civilized and self-supporting without instruction in home making and in intelligent farm work, we believe that the number of field matrons and practical farmers should be largely increased.

We urge the importance of the prompt passage by Congress of some measure to bring order out of chaos in the Indian Territory, in accordance with the recommendation of the Dawes Commission.

On motion of Mr. Garrett, it was voted that a committee of seven should be appointed to wait on the President-elect to confer with him on Indian affairs.

The following was the committee afterwards appointed:

Rev. C. J. Ryder, D. D., Mr. Herbert Welsh, Bishop W. D. Walker, President Merrill E. Gates, LL. D., Gen. John Eaton, LL. D., Rev. Dr. McArthur, and Mr. Joshua W. Davis.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS. 131

A letter from Hon. G. D. Meiklejohn was read saying that the bill with reference to selling liquor to Indians had passed the House without amendment.

It was voted that a committee of three should be appointed to see Senators with reference to this bill.

Adjourned at 5.30 p. m.

Expenditures by religious societies during the last year for Indian missions and education (not including special gifts to Carlisle, Hampton, and other schools) are as follows:

American Missionary Association (Congregational).....	\$35,000.00
Baptist Home Mission Society	21,355.00
Friends' Orthodox	10,000.00
Methodist Episcopal Mission Board.....	8,937.00
Methodist Episcopal Mission Board (South).....	9,908.35
Mennonite Mission	5,498.33
Moravian Mission	13,500.00
Presbyterian Home Mission Board.....	114,003.25
Presbyterian Home Mission Board (South).....	6,032.00
Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society.....	48,700.00
Indian Rights' Association	6,020.35
Women's National Indian Association	20,043.55

LIST OF OFFICERS CONNECTED WITH THE UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE, INCLUDING AGENTS, SUPERINTENDENTS, INSPECTORS, SPECIAL AGENTS, AND SUPERVISORS OF INDIAN SCHOOLS; ALSO ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

[Corrected to February 1, 1897.]

D. M. BROWNING, Commissioner.....4 Eighth street SE.
THOS. P. SMITH, Assistant Commissioner.....1728 Fifteenth street NW.

CHIEFS OF DIVISIONS.

Finance—SAMUEL E. SLATER.....1415 S street NW.
Accounts—FRANK T. PALMER.....1019 P street NW.
Land—CHAS. F. LARRABEE.....1718 Oregon avenue NW.
Education—J. H. DORTCH.....136 R street NW.
Files—GEORGE H. HOLTZMAN.....905 Tenth street NW.
Miscellaneous—M. S. COOK, stenographer in charge.....946 Westminster street NW.

SPECIAL AGENTS.

WILLIAM H. ABLE.....of Louisville, Ky.
JNO. T. OGLESBY.....of McDonough, Ga.
MARCUS D. SHELBY.....of Morrillton, Ark.
JAMES G. DICKSON.....of St. Louis, Mo.
JOEL T. OLIVE.....of Lexington, Ga.

INSPECTORS.

PROVINCE MCCORMICK.....of Berryville, Va.
CLINTON C. DUNCAN.....of Perry, Ga.
JAMES MCLAUGHLIN.....of Bismarck, N. Dak.
J. GEO. WRIGHT.....of South Dakota.
JOHN LANE.....of Spokane, Wash.

SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN SCHOOLS.

WILLIAM N. HAILMANN.....Cleveland Park.

SUPERVISORS OF INDIAN SCHOOLS.

WILLIAM M. MOSS.....of Bloomfield, Ind.
CHARLES D. RAKESTRAW.....of Lincoln, Nebr.
ARNOLD H. HEINEMANN.....of Chicago, Ill.

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SECRETARIES OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES ENGAGED IN EDUCATIONAL WORK AMONG INDIANS.

Baptist Home Missionary Society: Rev. T. J. Morgan, D. D., 111 Fifth avenue, New York.

Baptist (Southern): Rev. I. T. Tichenor, D. D., Atlanta, Ga.

Catholic (Roman) Bureau of Indian Missions: Rev. Jos. A. Stephan, 941 F street NW., Washington, D. C.

Congregational American Missionary Association: Rev. M. E. Strieby, D. D., Bible House, New York.

Episcopal Church Mission: Rev. W. G. Langford, D. D., Fourth avenue and Twenty-second street, New York.

Friends' Yearly Meeting: Levi K. Brown, Goshen, Lancaster County, Pa.

Friends' Orthodox: E. M. Wistar, 705 Provident Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Methodist Missionary Society: Rev. A. B. Leonard, 150 Fifth avenue, New York.

Methodist (Southern): Rev. H. C. Morrison, D. D., Nashville, Tenn.

Mennonite Mission: Rev. A. B. Shelly, Milford Square, Pa.

Moravian Mission: J. Taylor Hamilton, Bethlehem, Pa.

Presbyterian Home Mission Society: Rev. Wm. C. Roberts, D. D., 156 Fifth avenue, New York.

Presbyterian (Southern) Home Mission Board: Rev. J. N. Craig, D. D., Atlanta, Ga.

List of Indian agencies and agents, with post-office and telegraphic addresses.

Agency.	State or Territory.	Agent.	Post-office address.	Telegraphic address.
Blackfeet	Montana	George Steell	Browning, Teton County, Mont.	Blackfoot, Mont.
Cheyenne and Arapahoe	Oklahoma	Major Albert E. Woodson	Darlington, Okla.	Darlington, via Fort Reno, Okla.
Cheyenne River	South Dakota	Peter Couchman	Cheyenne River Agency, Dewey County, S. Dak.	Gettysburg, S. Dak.
Colorado River	Arizona	Charles E. Davis	Parker, Yuma County, Ariz.	Yuma, Ariz.
Coville	Washington	George H. Newman	Miles, Lincoln County, Wash.	Fort Spokane, via Davenport, Wash.
Crow Creek	South Dakota	Frederick Treon	Crow Creek, Buffalo County, S. Dak.	Crow Creek, via Chamberlain, S. Dak.
Crow	Montana	Lieut. J. W. Watson	Crow Agency, Mont.	Crow Agency, Mont.
Devils Lake	North Dakota	Ralph Hall	Fort Totten, Benson County, N. Dak.	Devils Lake, N. Dak.
Flathead	Montana	Joseph T. Carter	Jacko, Mont.	Arlee, Mont., and telephone to agency.
Fort Belknap	Idaho	Lake C. Hays	Harlem, Choteau County, Mont.	Harlem Station, Great Northern Railroad.
Fort Berthold	North Dakota	F. Glenn Mattoon	Elbowoods, N. Dak., via Bismarck	Minot, N. Dak.
Fort Hall	Idaho	Thomas B. Teter	Rosfork, Bingham County, Idaho.	Pocatello, Idaho.
Fort Peck	Montana	Capt. Henry W. Sprole	Poplar, Mont.	Poplar, Mont.
Greenbay	Wisconsin	Thomas H. Savage	Keshena, Shawano County, Wis.	Shavano, Wis.
Kiowa	California	Capt. Wm. E. Dougherty	Hoopa, Humboldt County, Cal.	Via Eureka, Humboldt County, Cal.
Klamath	Oklahoma	Capt. F. D. Baldwin	Anadarko, Okla.	Anadarko, Okla., via Chickasha.
Lapointe	Oregon	Jos. Emery	Klamath Agency, Klamath County, Oreg.	Klamath Falls, Klamath County, Oreg.
Lemhi	Idaho	Capt. Geo. L. Scott	Ashland, Wis.	Ashland, Wis.
Lower Brulé	South Dakota	Julius A. Andrews	Lemhi Agency, Lemhi County, Idaho.	Redrock, Mont.
Mescalero	New Mexico	Benj. C. Ash	Lower Brulé, Lyman County, S. Dak.	Chamberlain, S. Dak., thence by mail.
Mission Tule River (consolidated).	New Mexico	Lieut. Victor E. Stottler	Mescalero, Donna Ana County, N. Mex.	Las Cruces, N. Mex.
Navajo	New Mexico	Francisco Estudillo	San Jacinto, Riverside County, Cal.	San Jacinto, Riverside County, Cal.
Neah Bay	Washington	Capt. Constant Williams	Fort Defiance, Ariz.	Gallup, N. Mex.
Nevada	Nevada	John C. Keenan	Neahbay, Clallam County, Wash.	Neahbay, Wash.
New York	New York	Isaac J. Wooten	Wadsworth, Washoe County, Nev.	Wadsworth, Nev.
Nez Percés	Idaho	Joseph R. Jewell	Olean, Cattaraugus County, N. Y.	Olean, Cattaraugus County, N. Y.
Omaha and Winnebago	Idaho	Stanton G. Fisher	Nez Percés Agency, via Lewiston, Idaho.	Lewiston, Idaho, via Walla Walla, Wash.
Osage	Nebraska	Capt. Wm. H. Beck	Winnebago, Thurston County, Nebr.	Dakota City, Nebr.
Pima	Oklahoma	Col. Henry B. Freeman	Pawhuska, Okla.	Pawhuska, Okla., via Elgin, Kans.
Pineridge	Arizona	J. Roe Young	Sacaton, Pinal County, Ariz.	Casagrande, Ariz.
Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Osage	South Dakota	Capt. Wm. H. Clapp	Pineridge, Shannon County, S. Dak.	Pineridge, via Rushville, Nebr.
Pottawatomi and Great Nebraska	Oklahoma	James P. Woolsey	White Eagle, Okla.	White Eagle, Okla.
Pueblo and Jicarilla	Kansas	Lewis F. Pearson	Hoyt, Jackson County, Kans.	Hoyt, Jackson County, Kans.
Quapaw	New Mexico	Capt. John L. Bullis	Santa Fe, N. Mex.	Santa Fe, N. Mex.
Rosebud	Indian Territory	George S. Doane	Seneca, Newton County, Mo.	Seneca, Newton County, Mo.
Sac and Fox	South Dakota	Charles K. McChesney	Rosebud, S. Dak.	Rosebud, S. Dak., via Valentine, Nebr.
Do	Iowa	Horace M. Rebock	Toledo, Iowa	Toledo, Iowa
San Carlos	Oklahoma	Edward L. Thomas	Sac and Fox Agency, Okla.	Sac and Fox Agency, via Sapulpa, Ind. T.
Sanctae	Arizona	Capt. Albert L. Myer	San Carlos, Ariz.	San Carlos, via Wilcox, Ariz.
Shoshone	Nebraska	Joseph Clamanta	Sanctae Agency, Knox County, Nebr.	Springfield, S. Dak., and tel. to agency.
Wyoming	Wyoming	Capt. R. H. Wilson	Shoshone Agency, Fremont County, Wyo.	Fort Washakie, Fremont County, Wyo.

Siletz	Oregon	Beal Gaither	Siletz, Lincoln County, Oreg.	Toledo, Lincoln County, Oreg.
Sisseton	South Dakota	Anton M. Keller	Sisseton Agency, Roberts County, S. Dak.	Sisseton, S. Dak.
Southern Ute	Colorado	David F. Day	Ignacio, La Plata County, Colo.	Ignacio, Colo.
Standing Rock	North Dakota	John W. Cramsie	Fort Yates, Boreman County, N. Dak.	Fort Yates, via Bismarck, N. Dak.
Tongue River	Montana	Capt. G. W. H. Stouch	Lamedeer, Custer County, Mont.	Rosebud, Custer County, Mont.
Tulalip	Washington	Daniel C. Govan	Tulalip, Snohomish County, Wash.	Marysville, Wash.
Umatilla	Utah	Col. Jas. F. Handlett	Whiterocks, Uinta County, Utah.	Fort Duchesne, Utah.
Union	Oregon	George W. Harper	Pendleton, Umatilla County, Oreg.	Pendleton, Oreg.
Union	Indian Territory	Dew M. Wisdom	Muscogee, Ind. T.	Muscogee, Ind. T.
Warm Springs	Oregon	Jas. L. Cowan	Warm Springs, Crook County, Oreg.	The Dalles, Oreg.
Western Shoshone	Nevada	William L. Hargrove	Whiterock, Elko County, Nev.	Elko, Nev.
White Earth	Minnesota	Robert M. Allen	White Earth, Becker County, Minn.	Detroit, Becker County, Minn.
Yakima	Washington	Lewis T. Erwin	Fort Simcoe, Yakima County, Wash.	North Yakima, Wash.
Yankton	South Dakota	James A. Smith	Greenwood, S. D.	Armour, S. Dak.

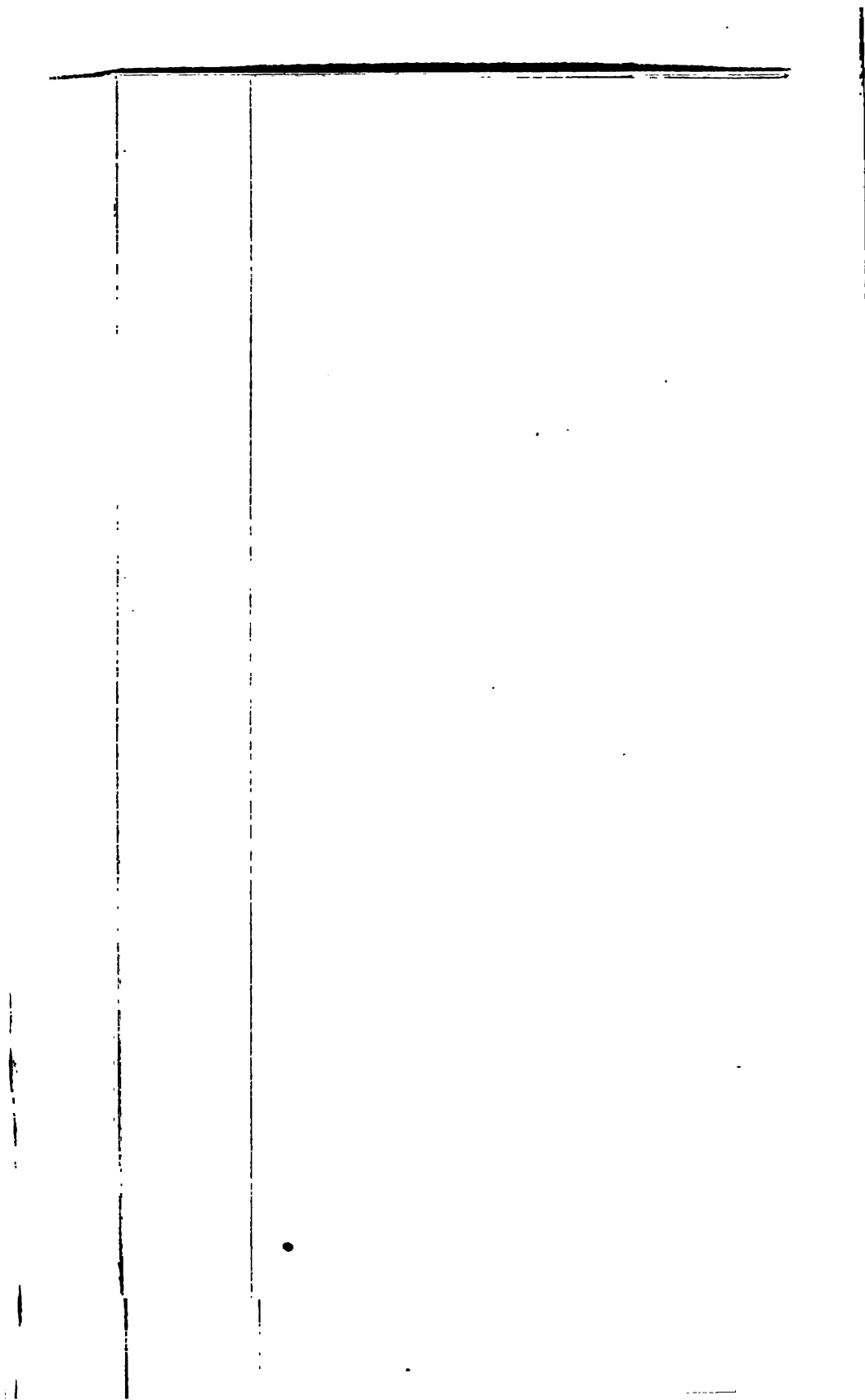
List of Indian training and industrial schools and superintendents, with post-office and telegraphic addresses.

School.	Location.	Superintendent.	Post-office address.	Telegraphic address.
Albuquerque.....	New Mexico.....	Samuel M. McCowan.....	Albuquerque, N. Mex.....	Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Carlisle.....	Pennsylvania.....	Capt. R. H. Pratt.....	Carlisle, Pa.....	Carlisle, Pa.
Carson.....	Nevada.....	Eugene Mead.....	Carson, Nev.....	Carson, Nev.
Chilocco.....	Oklahoma.....	Benjamin F. Taylor.....	Arkansas City, Kans.....	Arkansas City, Kans.
Eastern Cherokee.....	North Carolina.....	Joseph C. Hart.....	Cherokee, N. C.....	Whittier, N. C.
Flandreau.....	South Dakota.....	Lealie D. Davis.....	Flandreau, S. Dak.....	Flandreau, S. Dak.
Fort Lapwal.....	Idaho.....	Ed McConville.....	Lapwal, via Lewiston, Idaho.....	Walla Walla, Wash.
Fort Lewis.....	Idaho.....	Thomas H. Breen.....	Hesperus, Colo.....	Hesperus, Colo.
Fort Mojave.....	Arizona.....	John J. McKoin.....	Fort Mojave, Ariz.....	Fort Mojave, Ariz., via Needles, Cal.
Fort Shaw.....	Montana.....	W. H. Windlow.....	Fort Shaw, via Sun River, Mont.....	Fort Shaw, via Sun River, Mont.
Fort Totten.....	North Dakota.....	W. F. Canfield.....	Fort Totten, Benson County, N. Dak.....	Devils Lake, Benson County, N. Dak.
Fort Yuma.....	California.....	Mary O'Neill.....	Yuma, Ariz.....	Yuma, Ariz.
Genoa.....	Nebraska.....	J. E. Ross.....	Genoa, Nebr.....	Genoa, Nebr.
Grand Junction.....	Colorado.....	T. G. Lemmon.....	Grand Junction, Colo.....	Grand Junction, Colo.
Greenville.....	Oregon.....	Andrew Kershaw.....	Grande Ronde, Yamhill County, Oreg.....	Sheridan, Yamhill County, Oreg.
Haskell Institute.....	California.....	Edward N. Ament.....	Greenville, Plumas County, Cal.....	Greenville, Plumas County, Cal.
Keams Canyon.....	Kansas.....	J. A. Swett.....	Lawrence, Kans.....	Lawrence, Kans.
Mount Pleasant.....	Arizona.....	Ralph P. Collins.....	Keams Canyon, Navajo County, Ariz.....	Holbrook, Ariz.
Oneida.....	Michigan.....	Andrew Spencer.....	Mount Pleasant, Mich.....	Mount Pleasant, Mich.
Perris.....	Wisconsin.....	Charles F. Peirce.....	Oneida, Brown County, Wis.....	Greenbay, Wis.
Phoenix.....	California.....	Edgar A. Allen.....	Perris, Riverside County, Cal.....	Perris, Cal.
Pierre.....	Arizona.....	Harwood Hall.....	Phoenix, Ariz.....	Phoenix, Ariz.
Pipestone.....	South Dakota.....	Crosby G. Davis.....	Pierre, S. Dak.....	Pierre, S. Dak.
Puyallup.....	Minnesota.....	Dewitt S. Harris.....	Pipestone, Minn.....	Pipestone, Minn.
Round Valley.....	Washington.....	R. E. L. Newberne.....	Tacoma, Pierce County, Wash.....	Tacoma, Pierce County, Wash.
Salem.....	California.....	George W. Patrick.....	Corveto, Mendocino County, Cal.....	Corveto, via Cahito, Mendocino County, Cal.
Santa Fe.....	Oregon.....	Thomas W. Potter.....	Chenawa, Marion County, Oreg.....	Chenawa, Oreg.
Seger.....	New Mexico.....	John H. Segar.....	Santa Fe, N. Mex.....	Santa Fe, N. Mex.
Seminole.....	Oklahoma.....	John H. Segar.....	Colony, Washita County, Okla.....	Minco, Ind. T.
Tomah.....	Florida.....	J. E. Brecht.....	Myers, Lee County, Fla.....	Myers, Lee County, Fla.
Wittenburg.....	Wisconsin.....	H. D. Artwright.....	Tomah, Wis.....	Tomah, Wis.
.....do.....do.....	Axel Jacobson.....	Wittenburg, Wis.....	Wittenburg, Wis.

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